

MEMORIALS

AND

LETTERS

RELATING TO THE

HISTORY OF BRITAIN



JAMES THE FIRST.

PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINALS.

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TO

PHILIP YORKE,

VISCOUNT ROYSTON,

LEARNED IN BRITISH HISTORY,

THE EDITOR

INSCRIBES THIS COLLECTION.

PHILIP YORK

VISCONT WOTTON



INSTRUMENTS COLLECTION

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P R E F A C E.

THE Public, already satiated with original papers, may require some apology for this collection.

In the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, many volumes of letters and memorials, relating to the history of Britain during the seventeenth century, are preserved: most of them appear to have been collected by one Balfour of Denmylne: his assiduity, in amassing materials for the history of that period, has been greater than his judgment in selecting and arranging them; for, with some papers interesting and useful, many more equally tedious and uninteresting, are blended.

A cursory perusal of this bulky

P R E F A C E.

collection induced me to believe, that from it some letters and memorials might be chosen, tending at once to display the genius of that age, and to throw new lights upon many characters distinguished in history.

With this view I prepared the following collection, and now submit it to the Public; sensible, however, that works of this nature generally meet with few readers, and with little approbation, I have been cautious that mine neither offend by its bulk, nor by the largeness of the impression.

They who happen to know my political notions, without knowing my disposition, may suppose that this collection is intended as a fa-

P R E F A C E.

tyre on King James and his ministers: but it will be remembered that I only publish what others have written. Sure I am that I feel infinitely more pleasure in recording the amiable sensibility and maternal affection of the Dutchess of Lenox, than in unveiling the little arts and servile adulation of courtiers, or the petulant familiarity of an overgrown favourite.

If this collection should chance to meet with readers, some more volumes, formed upon the same plan, will probably be offered to the Public. The negotiations of King James, during the last three years of Queen Elisabeth, will, of themselves, afford materials for one volume; the letters of Archbishop

P R E F A C E

Sharp, collected with impartiality, may fill up another.

All that I can do, is to inform the Public of my plan; how far it may merit approbation, is not for me to determine.

Yet let me be permitted to add, that most of the considerable families in Scotland are possessed of original letters, which may tend to illustrate the history of Britain during the seventeenth century: if persons of distinction, possessed of such letters, approve of my plan, and are willing to contribute their aid for its accomplishment, the favour will be gratefully acknowledged.

DAV. DALRYMPLE,



C O N T E N T S.

SIR THOMAS HAMILTON, KING'S ADVOCATE,

TO

KING JAMES,

Gives an account of the trial and condemnation of Welch, and other ministers, for having declined the jurisdiction of the King and Privy Council;—praises the Earl of Dunbar, Prime Minister for Scotland, on account of the pains which he took both with the judges and jury in this trial;—hopes that such cases will not be tried in time to come, page 1.

PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND

TO

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ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

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ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,**

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COUNTESS OF DORSET

TO

KING JAMES,

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TO

KING JAMES,

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ATTORNEY-GENERAL,

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OF THE BED-CHAMBER,

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ATTORNEY-GENERAL,

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KING JAMES,

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TO

KING JAMES,

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C O N T E N T S.

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K I N G J A M E S,

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TO

K I N G J A M E S,

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

K I N G J A M E S,

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

K I N G J A M E S,

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

K I N G J A M E S,

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TO

KING JAMES,

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
TO

KING JAMES,

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
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KING JAMES.

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KING JAMES,

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PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND

TO

KING JAMES,

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DOCUMENT OF BUCHANAN

KING JAMES

James Buchanan, Esq. of the County of ...

EDWARD BUCHANAN OF LENOX

KING JAMES

James Buchanan, Esq. of the County of ...

COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

OF SCOTLAND

KING JAMES

James Buchanan, Esq. of the County of ...

REPLY COMMISSION OF SCOTLAND

KING JAMES

James Buchanan, Esq. of the County of ...

SIR THOMAS HAMILTON,

KING'S ADVOCATE,

TO

KING JAMES. †

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

My conceived fear, that my silence could not find out any lawful excuse, if I should not advertise your Majesty of the progress and event of the criminal pursuit of Mess. John Forbes, Welch, and others, their complices, before your Majesty's justice, for their treasonable declining your Majesty and your secret council's judgment, makes me bold to write in that matter; which, as well in respect of a most high point and large part of your Majesty's authority royal brought in question by the ignorant and inflexible obstinacy of these defenders, as in regard of the most careful expectation of a great part of your Highness's subjects, in this your kingdom, over-doubtfully distracted, during the uncertain event thereof, partly by superstitious, and partly by feigned zeal to their profession, and affection to their persons for their profession's sake; being of so high and dangerous consequence, as the miscarrying thereof might have exceded a great part of your Majesty's subjects from your Majesty's jurisdiction and obedience in matters of doctrine and discipline, and all things which

† The Scottish phrases in this letter are retained; the most remarkable are, *langsum* for tedious, *but for without*, and *pannel* for persons arraigned.

SIR THOMAS HAMILTON

they should have pleased to affirm to be of that nature, and therewith have given them occasion, and as it were lawful liberty, or liberty by your Majesty's own laws and sentences, to have maintained that liberty once purchased, and daily to have encreased the same, to the manifest peril, not only of further impairing, but with time, of utter subversion of your royal power within this kingdom. God having now brought it to that good end, that, after langsum, difficil, and most contentious travels, they are convicted by affize of that treasonable declinator. I should omit as necessary a point of my duty, as if I had not replied to their most probable alledgences, if I should conceal from your Majesty, that the first and greatest praise of this good success should be given to your Majesty's self, for foreseeing this matter to be of such difficulty and danger, as it required the particular direction of your Majesty's own most excellent wisdom, by the report and prosecution of my Lord of Dunbar, who, I am assured, in all his life was never so sollicitous for the event of the trial of other men's lives; for, at his here-coming, finding that matter full, not only of foreseen, but also of unexpected difficulties, his care and diligence therein has been so assiduous, wise, and provident, that having made secret choice of this time and place (which-by-effect has proved most proper) and so vively expressed to your Majesty's Justice, Justice-Clerk, and other members of that court, your Majesty's care of the maintenance of your royal power, brought in question by that process, with the undoubted favours which

TO KING JAMES.

they might expect by doing their duty, and most certain disgrace and punishment, if, in their default, any thing should miscarry. He proceeded thereafter to the preparation of sufficient forces able to execute all the lawful commandments of your Majesty's council, in your service; and, for that purpose, having brought with him to this town a very great number of honourable barons and gentlemen, of good rank and worth, of his kindred and friendship; finding, beside other great impediments, the chief peril to consist in the want of an honest assize, who, without respect of popular favours, report, threatnings, or imprecations, would serve God and your Majesty in a good conscience; for known default of constancy and good affection in others, he was compelled to cause his own particular and private kinsmen and friends to make the most part of the assize, who being admitted upon the same, if he had not dealt in that point but scrupulosity or ceremonies to resolve them of the wonderful doubt, wherein, by many means, chiefly by the thundering imprecations of the pannel, and contentious resistance of their own associate assizers, they were casten, that whole purpose had failed, to our infinite grief, and your Majesty's over-great prejudice. For the good success whereof I shall ever thank God, and ever pray him and your Majesty, to put us to as few essays in the like causes as may possibly stand with the weal of your Majesty's service, in respect of the scarcity of skilled and well-affected assizers in these causes; for if my Lord of Dunbar had wanted your Majesty's most provident directi-

SIR TH. HAMILTON TO K. JAMES.

ons, or if we had been destitute of his wife and infinitely solicitous diligence and action in this purpose, in all men's judgments it had losed, wherein our misluck could never have found any excuse, which might either have given satisfaction to your Majesty, or contentment to our own minds, albeit our consciences and actions did bear us record, that we served with most faithful affections, and careful diligence. But now we have to thank God that it is well ended. And I must humbly crave your Majesty's pardon for my boldness and overlong letter, which shall be always short in comparison of my long and endless prayers to God for your Majesty's health, content, and long happy life. At Lithgow, the 11th January, 1606.

Your Sacred Majesty's

most humble and faithful servitor,

TH. HAMILTON. †

† This letter gives a more lively idea of those times, than an hundred Chronicles can do. We see here the prime minister, in order to obtain a sentence agreeable to the king, address the judges with promises and threats, pack the jury, and then deal with them *without scruple or ceremony*. It is also evident that the king's advocate disliked the proceedings as inpolitic and odious, but that he had not resolution to oppose them. The detail of this trial, and of its consequences, may be found in Spotiswood and Calderwood.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND
TO
KING JAMES.*

PLEASE YOUR MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

WE your most humble and loyally affected servants, having heard some reproachful speeches, uttered in the lower house, by some evil-disposed spirits, to the dishonour of this your Majesty's antient kingdom, and that only your Majesty had stand to our defence; we have, in all humility, by these presents, presumed to take notice of the same, and to yield your Majesty most humble and hearty thanks, not having committed any thing against that state deserving such injuries, and far less worthy of so great favour, as it has pleased your gracious Majesty to vouchsafe, by vindicating us from their opprobrious calumnies. It is no little grief to us till hear, what just causes of discontentment are ministred to your Majesty at all these meetings for enforcing that union so greatly hated by them, and so little affected by us, except in that religious obedience we ought to your Majesty, not to dislike any thing that likes your Highness. And if it may please your sacred Majesty, without offence, to hear our apology, in defence of the honour of our country, we doubt not to make it known, by the true records of bygone times, since this island has been first inhabited, that in no point of sincere

* The Scottish phrases in this letter are retained. The most remarkable are, *stand for stood, till for to, and nor for than.*

THE PRIVY COUNCIL

Christianity to God, loyal obedience till our princes, violate friendship with our confederates, and unconquered liberty of our estate, we have never been inferior to them; and, in the very subject of the union, whereat they pretend so many frivolous exceptions, that their advantage shall be every way greater nor ours. We would be sorry to be authors of distracting that, which your princely wisdom, and fatherly care, has happily contracted, having so deeply taken in heart, so to unite these two kingdoms, joined by nature, but by affection altogether distant*, as no marks of diversity betwixt them till the after coming ages should appear. Yet we are persuaded, that our just defence against these false imputations laid upon all the nation, not sparing your sacred Majesty, nor your most royal progeny, nor your most worthy ancestors of a hundred and six kings†, lineally descending of one stock, cannot but, in your Majesty's accustomed justice, receive at your hands a favourable censure; and if, in any meeting, either private or public, whereof we had many about that subject, such audience was ever given till any speech, either derogating to the honour of that state, or dissuading the union, however there be among us, not a few of the best sort, who are as alien from

* May we not hope that this island is now joined in affection, as well as by nature, under the government of GEORGE THE BRITON?

† Some critics have attempted to strike forty off the list; however, even without them, there are still enough remaining for the honour and felicity of Scotland.

TO KING JAMES.

it as any of the lower house, and has more just cause to be discontented with so easy obliterating of bygone wrongs, let it be till us a disloyal part against your Majesty, and unworthy of true friendship against our neighbours; but, contrarywise, such has been the diligent care of your ministry here, upon whom your Majesty is pleased to repose the weight of your affairs, that knowing your Majesty's earnest disposition to perfect their union, in all the conferences, they have laboured to extol all the apparent benefits we might receive thereby, and to conceal and suppress the true ills: in doing whereof, although we have reported small thanks of these, who so liberally have talked of us, or those who in so patient hearing did clearly manifest their allowance of all was spoken; yet your Majesty's princely representing our wrong, and urging the trial and punishing thereof, is more nor sufficient recompence, if our lives and all our fortunes should be endangered in any thing might yield your Majesty satisfaction; and if, under your Majesty's correction, to the which we always submit ourselves, your Majesty would be pleased to desist from any further moving of this union, and make known to the estate, that the whole inhabitants of the isle are your Majesty's subjects, and that in all your services and employments, you will indifferently prefer those, whom your Majesty, in your wisdom, shall find most capable: that your Majesty will vouchsafe to grace us with your residence among us sometimes, and seclude us from no favour your Majesty, in your royal prerogative, may give us, and whereof we shall render our-

THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO K. JAMES.

selves, by our careful and loyal deserving, to prove worthy, we doubt not but they shall require at your Majesty's hands, that which, by this enforced dealing, they would appear to refuse. But this, and all other things tending to the liberty and honour of this your Majesty's antient kingdom, we remit to your Majesty's most rare and princely wisdom, humbly requesting your Majesty to take in good part this our most humble thanks, having nothing else to offer your Majesty for all your undeserved favours, but our most loyal hearts, which shall never debord from the smallest of your Majesty's thoughts. Thus, humbly craving pardon of our presumption, we pray God to grant your Majesty, after a long and happy reign, eternal felicity. From your Majesty's burgh of Edinburgh, the 3d of March, 1607.

Your Majesty's most humble
and obedient subjects,

MONTROSE.

LOTHIAN.

DUMFERMLINE Cancell.

J. BALMERINO.

AL. OCHILTRIE.

BLANTYRE.

ROXBURGH.

ELPHINSTON.

R. COCKBURN.

[9]
SIR THOMAS HAMILTON,
KING'S ADVOCATE,

TO

K I N G J A M E S.

PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTY,

ACKNOWLEDGING myself bound, in duty, to render account to your Majesty of the services properly belonging and committed to my charge, I have taken the boldness to write of our progress in the forfeitures intended against the Lord Maxwell*, and the memory of Restalrig, before the Lords of Articles: our first proceeding was against the Lord Maxwell, wherein, albeit there were no compearance for the defender, yet some of the Lords of Articles kything [appearing] more scrupulous and precise in sundry points of that process nor we did foresee or suspect, and hearing thereafter, that sundry of that number had preconceived hard opinions of Restalrig's process, the knowledge thereof, which wrought fear and mistrust in the minds of divers your Majesty's well affected servants, did breed in the Earl of Dunbar such care and fervency to remove these impediments, that bending his wits in more passionate manner nor he used to express in common and indif-

* For the slaughter of the laird of Johnston, R. Johnston
Rev. Brit. Hist. lib. 14. p. 449.

ferent matters*, he did travel so earnestly with the noblemen and whole remanent Lords of Articles, and solicited some of the most learned and best experimented of your Majesty's council to furnish reasons and light to the clearing of the probation of that most heinous treason, and gave to myself so earnest charge, and furnished so pregnant, judicious, and clear grounds to confirm the summons, and manifest the vive [lively] circumstances thereof to the world, that he left no travel to me but the repetition of the substance of his information, to the which having so nearly conformed my discourse as possibly I could, it pleased God, that the Lords of the Articles being happily prepared by the depositions of divers honest men of the ministry, and other famous witnesses, who recognoscing unquhill [the deceased] Restalrig's hand-writ in his treasonable missives, produced by me, with very sensible and forcible reasons and causes of their constant and confident affirmation, that these missives were written by him. When the probation of the summons was referred to the Lords votes, they found, uniformly, all in one voice, the said summons to be so clearly proven, that they seemed to contend who should be able, most zeal-

* The reader may perhaps be surprized to hear a prime minister commended to his master, for having *travelled earnestly* with the judges, in order to convince them of the guilt of a person tried in effigy for treason. Dr. Robertson, History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 223, has transcribed part of this letter. It is published here at length, as it displays the notions of that age.

lowly, to express the satisfaction of his heart, not only by most pithy words, but by tears of joy; divers of the best rank, confessing, that that whereof they doubted, at their entry in the house, was now so manifest, that they behoved to esteem them traitors who should any longer refuse to declare their assured resolution of the truth of that treason. So hoping your Majesty will graciously pardon my boldness, in offering to your Majesty this rude relation of these purposes concerning my charge in your Majesty's service. I beseech God, who has so mercifully preserved your Majesty from the horrible devices of your devilish enemies, and so miraculously detected their hellish practices, long to protect and preserve your Majesty from all harms and dangers, and to grant your Majesty all happiness and contentment. Edinr. this 21 Junii, 1609.

Your most Sacred Majesty's

most bounden and faithful servant,

TH. HAMILTON.

RICHARD BANCROFT,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

TO

KING JAMES.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELL. MAJESTY.

I WAS very much grieved upon Friday, considering how it should come to pass, that your Majesty was pleased to let fall some words, as if you supposed that your clergy were idle, especially such as have two benefices, because I am persuaded that there was never in this kingdom less cause to complain thereof; I would they had no juster occasion of complaint, that where in most preaching, there they find the least fruit of their travels.

For the bill that is in hand against pluralities, it is the same, that, for above forty years, from parliament to parliament, hath been rejected; and that very worthily.

If, before it had been sought to have tied every preacher to one benefice, it had been provided, that every benefice should have been made a sufficient living for a worthy preacher, the attempt had been allow-

* In this year 1610, "Bancroft offered to the parliament a project for the better providing of a maintenance to the clergy," *Biogr. Britan.* P. 468. [F] where the plan at large is inserted from the *paper-office*.

able; so as the dignity of the ministry considered, (which Satan dare not impugn,) the sufficiency of such benefices might have been rated accordingly. But thereof I have some doubt, especially sith your poor ministers are now in their hands, to have their portions limited, who, for the most part, will never think (we fear) themselves to have enough, nor cease to esteem the little (God knows) that the clergy hath to be too much. It is true, that now there is a fair overture, of an earnest desire, to make every parsonage and vicarage in England a competent living for a learned preacher; but the issue thereof I do greatly suspect, that it will only tend (through the undervaluing of learned mens deserts) to the tying of particular preachers to one parsonage or vicarage of the better sort, and so rather to deprive them all indeed of sufficient living, than to make the lesser benefices able to maintain men so qualified, as now it is with such earnestness desired.

But God's will be done; we that are bishops will do our best (as heretofore we have to our powers endeavoured) for the increasing of a learned ministry; but we may never yield to any course that shall procure apparently their utter overthrow, as to expect that they should still make brick without diminishing their task, when their straw is withheld from them, and they shall be driven to gather stubble in the fields.

Besides, we of the clergy do greatly wonder at the pretended zeal which first begat, and still doth support the said bill; in that the statute, which alloweth certain ministers, (thereby qualified) to recover the tithes

the Lords of the Articles being nappuy prepared by the depositions of divers honest men of the ministry, and other famous witnessess, who recognoscing unquhill [the deceased] Restalrig's hand-writ in his treasonable missives, produced by me, with very sensible and forcible reasons and causes of their constant and confident affirmation, that these missives were written by him. When the probation of the summons was referred to the Lords votes, they found, uniformly, all in one voice, the said summons to be so clearly proven, that they seemed to contend who should be able, most zea-

* The reader may perhaps be surprized to hear a prime minister commended to his master, for having *travelled earnestly* with the judges, in order to convince them of the guilt of a person tried in effigy for treason. Dr. Robertson, History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 223, has transcribed part of this letter. It is published here at length, as it displays the notions of that age.

mies, and so miraculously detected their hellish practices, long to protect and preserve your Majesty from all harms and dangers, and to grant your Majesty all happiness and contentment. Edinr. this 21 Junii, 1609.

Your most Sacred Majesty's

most bounden and faithful servant,

TH. HAMILTON.

RICHARD BANCROFT,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
TO
KING JAMES.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELL. MAJESTY.

I WAS very much grieved upon Friday, considering how it should come to pass, that your Majesty was pleased to let fall some words, as if you supposed that your clergy were idle, especially such as have two benefices, because I am persuaded that there was never in this kingdom less cause to complain thereof; I would they had no juster occasion of complaint, that where is most preaching, there they find the least fruit of their travels.

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But God's will be done; we that are bishops will do our best (as heretofore we have to our powers endeavoured) for the increasing of a learned ministry; but we may never yield to any course that shall procure apparently their utter overthrow, as to expect that they should still make brick without diminishing their stalk, when their straw is withheld from them, and they shall be driven to gather stubble in the fields.

Besides, we of the clergy do greatly wonder at the pretended zeal which first begat, and still doth support the said bill; in that the statute, which alloweth certain ministers, (thereby qualified) to recover the tithes

of two parishes, is held to be unlawful, and so consequently necessary to be abrogated; whilst another statute (by force whereof many laymen do reap the tithes of two benefices) is past over with silence, as if there were no fault at all in it, but lawfully ought to be continued. If it be said, that the law hath laid the care of souls in such benefices (termed impropriation) upon Vicars and Curates, it may as truly be answered, that in like sort the law tieth every minister that hath two benefices, to supply his absence from that where he is not resident, with a sufficient minister his substitute: whereas two thousand impropriations at the least in England, I am well assured, are most miserably served by poor souls, that live in pitiful beggary, not having the hire of ordinary coachmen, or meaner servants in gentlemen's houses, to live upon. So as, for mine own part, I hold it a very unequal and scandalous project, to allow that laymen may still receive the tithes of two benefices, and to provide, that hereafter it shall be unlawful for a godly minister so to do, considering, to whom, by God's ordinance, tithes ought to be paid. It seemeth therefore unto me, that, in the current of this great zeal, your Majesty shall do a work worthy of your most religious wisdom and circumspection, if you would be pleased, of your goodness, for the trial of the said pretended zeal, (which is often a mask for many bad pretences,) to insist upon the abrogating of the said statute for impropriations, whereby tithes are paid to laymen, (for whom they were never appointed,) before you permit the course now held against the poor ministers; to

be too far proceeded in, except you do find any likelihood, that every benefice in England, with cure, will be made a sufficient living for a preacher; which I never expect, nor (I fear) will be yielded unto, without some attempt, either against cathedral churches, or for the diminishing your bishops livings.

Moreover, upon the advantage of your Majesty's great necessities at this time, I do foresee, and partly already perceive, that many things will be pressed upon your Majesty, against the clergy, by the lower house of parliament, as hoping, now or never, to obtain that which divers of them, for many years, have aimed at. And that your Majesty, for the gaining of your own ends towards your supply and support, may be inclined to give more way unto them therein, than, I judge, may stand with the good continuance of that state of this church, wherein you found it to be most royally upheld by the late Queen, (of most worthy memory,) and hath since been likewise maintained by your most excellent Majesty accordingly, with a very great increase of many singular benefits, and most princely favours towards it. But myself, with the rest of your Majesty's bishops, and the whole clergy, do so fully repose our trust and assurance in your Majesty's most royal and Christian affection towards us, as we know that all the cunning and sleight in the world, shall never be able to work your Highness, to the approbation and allowance of any thing, that may either tend to our unjust reproach, or to the prejudice of religion, which hitherto hath more flourished in England than in all the churches besides of

of Christendom; considering that all the plots and practices, at this time designed against us, may easily be met with by the observation of your own rules and directions, delivered so oft, this session, to the lower house by the Lord Treasurer. If we of the clergy have, in our proceedings, transgressed your Majesty's laws, they may thereupon justly frame their grievances, and we are well content to answer unto them: but where your Majesty's laws do support us, and our doings, we can never doubt of your Majesty's most royal and gracious assistance.

A bill rejected the two last sessions of this parliament, having again passed the lower house, was, upon Saturday last, read, by the Lord Chancellor's appointment, to the upper house: the copy whereof I have presumed here to inclose. Your Majesty, in perusing of it, shall find it to stretch very far, neither regarding some statutes yet in force, nor the authority either of your Majesty's convocations, (representing in former times the church of England,) or of your Highness, the chief and supreme governor of it. The last session but one, sundry of your bishops, in a great committee, answered all those reasons that were then thought fit to be alledged for the passage of this bill. But all is one; reason or no reason, it forceth not; it is importunity, and opportunity, that is relied upon; and we must again endure a new brunt to no purpose, except your Majesty shall be pleased to prevent it; and I think it very necessary you should so do, for the avoiding of public scandal, if your Majesty's supremacy should now again

be called in question, as of necessity it must be, if the authors of this bill do stand to the justification of it against us. I most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty to pardon this my boldness: *sacerdotis vox debet esse libera*: and I could not but condemn myself, being Archbishop of Canterbury, if I should not, with all my strength, and for the preventing of future mischiefs, stand up in the gap, which is sought to be made in the very form and frame of the church, and likewise plead in the best sort I am able, before so mighty, so learned, so provident, so religious, and so wise a king, for so well a settled and worthy form of religion, and for so godly, so learned, and so painful a clergy, whom your Majesty shall ever have at your commandment, most loyal, most faithful subjects, and always, in their divine meditations and prayers, your daily orators. Almighty God long bless and protect your Majesty from the malice and wicked attempts of all your enemies, granting you long life, a comfortable reign, and all other his heavenly blessings, both here upon earth, and hereafter in his glorious kingdom for ever. At Lambeth, this 14th of May, 1610.

Your Majesty's most bounden,

and dutiful Chaplain,

R. CANT,

FOLLOWS A COPY OF THE BILL MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

† AN ACT RESTRAINING THE EXECUTION OF CANONS ECCLESIASTICAL, NOT CONFIRMED BY PARLIAMENT, READ IN THE UPPER HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, MAY 12. 1610.

FORASMUCH as divers inconveniencies have grown and happened to your Majesty's subjects of this realm of England, by the multiplicity of canons, constitutions, and ordinances ecclesiastical, heretofore made; whereof sundry, varying from the common laws and statutes of this your Highness's realm, have already grown, and are likely daily to grow more grievous and burdensome to your Majesty's subjects, unless some restraint and provision be made to the contrary; may it therefore please your most excellent Majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by your most excellent Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same: That no canon, constitution, or ordinance ecclesiastical, heretofore made, constituted, or ordained, within the space of ten years last past, or hereafter to

† This may serve to supply a small omission of Mr. HUMPHREY's, in his history of Great Britain, Vol. I. p. 37. where he says, "in this session, 1610, the Commons contented themselves with remonstrating against the proceedings of the High Commission Court."

ACT RESTRAINING ECCLES. CANONS. 19

be made, constituted, or ordained, shall be of any force or effect, by any means whatsoever, to impeach or hurt any person or persons in his or their life, liberty, lands, or goods, until the same be first confirmed by act of parliament, an law, custom, ordinance, or thing to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

Ext. p. Ro. BOWYER, Cler. Pp11,

B 2

RICHARD BANCROFT,
 ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
 TO
 KING JAMES.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELL. MAJESTY.

WE the bishops and clergy of the province of Canterbury, being assembled, by your Majesty's authority, in convocation, considering your Majesty's most princely favour towards us, and your present wants, notwithstanding there is one old subsidy of four shillings in the pound behind unpaid, have very willingly, readily, and with one consent, granted to your Majesty a new subsidy of six shillings in the pound, and so have ordered the payment of it with the former, as they may be both in your exchequer within one year and an half. By ancient custom, we your said bishops, with a selected number of the lower house of convocation, were to have presented this our grant unto your most excellent Majesty, and to have beseeched you to accept the same in good part, as a smaller testimony of our duty and affection towards you, than your Majesty's goodness towards us hath many ways deserved. But now, by reason of your Majesty's absence, and through the indisposition of my own body, not daring as yet to undertake so long a journey, I have presumed, with the advice of my Lord Treasurer, to send our said grant to

ARCHBISHOP BANCROFT TO K. JAMES. 13

your Majesty by Sir Thomas Lake, not doubting, but that, of your princely clemency, you will take this disorderly offering of it in good part; and, by a word or two, either from yourself, or in your name, by Sir Thomas Lake, signify unto me, to be delivered to our convocation, your Majesty's good acceptance of it; so as the same, together with the grant itself, may be sent back again to-morrow in the morning betimes, that it may be exhibited to the lower house, and perhaps read beforenoon. Almighty God preserve your most excellent Majesty from the malice of all your enemies, and bless you with a long life, granting you many more quiet parliaments, and all other comforts in this world, and for ever hereafter, through our Saviour Jesus Christ. At Lambeth, this 16th of July, 1610.

Your Majesty's most bounden,

and loyal Chaplain,

R. CANT.†

† This offer of a subsidy was no injudicious method of enforcing the arguments used by the Archbishop in his letter of the 14th of May 1610.

EARL OF NORTHAMPTON†

TO

MR. JOHN MURRAY OF THE
BED-CHAMBER.

THE last act before my departure, worthy Mr. Murray, is my request to yourself, to kiss the sacred hands of my royal Master, and only let him know, that I have performed all my walks, with prayers for the long and happy preservation of his Majesty, not doubting, whatsoever become of me, those prosperous events will spring up in all quick-fets, that are fenced with love and loyalty.

For my own part, as I never altered my compass; so, beginning his loyal servant, I die his faithful beadle, adding this only petition to the rest to God, that, as among Kings he hath created him the best, so in the same rank he will crown him the happiest.

I am extremely full of pain, and holding the time

* Lord HENRY HOWARD, of the house of NORFOLK, created Earl of NORTHAMPTON by King JAMES. He died in the year 1614. There is a lively and just character of this remarkable personage in Mr. WALPOLE's Catalogue of royal and noble authors. Article, NORTHAMPTON. This letter, written with a trembling hand, is, probably, the last of his composition, and may serve to shew, that he died, as he had lived, a pedant and a flatterer.

E. OF NORTHAMPTON TO MR. MURRAY. 23

long till I be at my journey's end, I leave myself to
the demonstrations of your true love, and will be ever
found,

Your affectionate,

and constant friend,

H. NORTHAMPTON.

Wednesday at Ten.

THE SECOND EXAMINATION OF EDMOND
PEACHAM CLERK, TAKEN BEFORE THE
LORDS AT THE TOWER, JANUARY 14TH,
1614.†

THE examinee being demanded, how he came to the knowledge of these particularities, which he hath set down, touching the king and the state; as the king's gifts for dances, banquets, dogs, &c. ? he answereth, that he knoweth them no otherwise, but by his own observation and imagination; and the application of it was made out of the example of Herod.

Being asked with whom he hath conferred, or what information he hath from others, by word, message, or writing, of those slanderous things set down in his papers, or any of them ? he answereth, that no person whatsoever, did either, by word, message, or writing, inform him of any of those things; and that he never had any conference with any man touching any of them, neither did ever make any of these known to any person.

EDMUND PEACHAM.

G. CANT.

T. ELLESMORE Cantic.

T. SUFFOLKE.

E. WORCESTER.

FENTON.

RAPHE WINWOOD.

FULKE GREVILLE.

E. COKE.

JUL. CAESAR.

† This is transcribed from a copy in the Advocates Library, and is inserted on account of its connection with what follows.

PART OF A LETTER FROM
SIR RALPH WINWOOD

TO

A LORD, ABOUT K. JAMES'S PERSON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

ON Saturday last, in the afternoon, the lords, appointed by his Majesty to examine Peacham in the Tower, assembled there about two of the clock. A copy of the examinations I send herewith, which your lordship may be pleased to impart to his Majesty. I find not the man to be, as was related, stupid or dull, but to be full of malice and craft. On Sunday, I pressed the Lords, being in council, to advise and resolve for the further proceeding against this delinquent. The Lord Chancellor, by reason of his indisposition, was absent from the council. The term now approaching, which on Monday next doth begin, the lords do hold it most convenient for his Majesty's service, that the judges, upon their arrival to this town, should assemble together to every bench. A copy of Peacham's book, authentically collationed, is to be delivered; upon their resolution, which they will not deliver without advised deliberation, the lords will, with respectful care, proceed, as in duty shall become them, for the honour of his Majesty.

This I find, that the judges declaring this impious fact to be treason, the cause cannot be tried before the end of Easter term, &c.

INTERROGATORIES WHEREUPON PEACHAM IS TO BE EXAMINED.

QUESTIONS IN GENERAL.

1. Who procured you, moved you, or advised you, to put in writing these traiterous slanders which you have set down against his Majesty's person and government, or any of them?
2. Who gave you any advertisement or intelligence touching those particulars which are contained in your writings; as touching the sale of the crown-lands, the deceit of the king's officers, the greatness of the king's gifts, his keeping divided courts, and the rest? and who hath conferred with you, or discoursed with you, concerning those points?
3. Whom have you made privy and acquainted with the said writings, or any part of them? and who hath been your helpers or confederates therein?
4. What use mean you to make of the said writings? was it by preaching them in sermon, or by publishing them in treatise? if, in sermon, at what time, and in what place, meant you to have preached them? if, by treatise, to whom did you intend to dedicate, or exhibite, or deliver such treatise?
5. What was the reason, and to what end did you first set down in scattered papers, and after knit up, in form of a treatise or sermon, such a mass of treasonable slanders against the king, his posterity, and the whole state?

INTERROGATORIES FOR PEACHAM. 27

QUESTIONS IN PARTICULAR.

6. What moved you to write, that the king might be stricken with death on the sudden, or within eight days, as Ananias or Nabal? do you know of any conspiracy or danger to his person, or have you heard of any such attempt?

7. You have confessed that these things were applied to the king; and that, after the example of preachers and chronicles, kings infirmities are to be laid open. This sheweth plainly your use must be to publish them. Shew to whom, and in what manner?

8. What was the true time when you wrote the said writings, or any part of them? and what was the last time you looked upon them, or perused them before they were found or taken?

9. What moved you to make doubt whether the people will rise against the king for taxes and oppressions? do you know, or have you heard, of any likelihood or purpose of any tumults or commotion?

10. What moved you to write, that the getting of the crown-land again would cost blood, and bring men to say, *this is the heir, let us kill him*? do you know or have you heard of any conspiracy or danger to the prince, for doubt of calling back the crown-land?

11. What moved you to prove, that all the king's officers might be put to the sword? do you know, or have you heard, of any petition is intended to be made against the king's council and officers, or any rising of people against them?

38 INTERROGATORIES FOR PEACHAM.

12. What moved you to say, in your writing, that our king, before his coming to the kingdom, promised mercy and judgment, but we find neither? what promise do mean of? and wherein hath the king broke the same promise?

There follows in the hand-writing of Secretary
WINWOOD.

Upon these interrogatories, Peacham, this day, was examined before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture. Notwithstanding, nothing could be drawn from him, he still persisting in his obstinate and insensible denials, and former answer.

January 19th, 1614.

RAPHE WINWOOD.	GERVASE HELWYSSE.
JUL. CAESAR.	RAN. CREWE.
FR. BACON.	HENRY YELVERTON.
H. MONTAGUE.	FR. COTTINGTON.

SIR FRANCIS BACON

TO

KING JAMES.*

IT MAY PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

I PERCEIVE by the bishop of Bath and Wells, that although it seemeth he hath dealt in an effectual manner with Peacham, yet he prevaieth little hitherto; for he hath gotten of him no new names, neither doth Peacham alter his tale touching Sir John Sydenham.

Peacham standeth off in two material points *de novo*.

The one, he will not yet discover into whose hands he did put his papers touching the consistory villanies. They were not found with the other bundles upon the search; neither did he ever say that he had burned or defaced them. Therefore it is like they are in some person's hands; and it is like again, that that person that he trusted with those papers, he likewise trusted with these others of the treasons, I mean with the sight of them.

The other, that he taketh time to answer, when he is asked, whether he heard not from Mr. Paulet some such words, as he saith he heard from Sir John Sydenham, or in some lighter manner.

I hold it fit, that myself, and my fellows, go to the Tower, and so I purpose to examine him upon these

* This letter is not in Mr. MALLOCK's edition.

points, and some others; at the least, that the world may take notice that the business is followed as heretofore, and that the stay of the trial is upon farther discovery, according to that we give out.

I think also it were not amiss to make a false fire, as if all things were ready for his going down to his trial, and that he were upon the very point of being carried down, to see what that will work with him.

Lastly, I do think it most necessary, and a point principally to be regarded, that because we live in an age wherein no counsel is kept, and that it is true there is some bruit abroad, that the judges of the King's Bench do doubt of the case, that it should not be treason; that it be given out constantly, and yet as it were in secret, and so a fame to slide, that the doubt was only upon the publication, in that it was never published; for that (if your Majesty marketh it) taketh away, or least qualifies the danger of the example; for that will be no man's case.

This is all I can do to thridd your Majesty's business with a continual and settled care, turning and returning, not with any thing in the world, save only the occasions themselves, and your Majesty's good pleasure.

I had no time to report to your Majesty, at your being here, the business referred, touching Mr. John Murray. I find a shrewd ground of a title against your Majesty, and the patentees to these lands, by the co-heir of Thomas Earl of Northumberland; for I see a fair deed; I find a reasonable consideration for the making the said deed, being for the advancement of

TO KING JAMES.

23

his daughters; for that all the possessions of the earldom were entailed upon his brother; I find it was made four years before his rebellion; and I see some probable cause why it has slept so long. But Mr. Murray's petition speaketh only of the moiety of one of the co-heirs, whereunto if your Majesty should give way, you might be prejudiced in the other moiety. Therefore, if Mr. Murray can get power of the whole, then it may be safe for your Majesty to give way to the trial of the right, when the whole shall be submitted to you. Mr. Murray is my dear friend; but I must cut even in these things, and so I know he would himself wish no other. God preserve your Majesty. February 28th, 1614.

Your Majesty's most humble,

and devoted subject and servant,

FR. BACON.

SIR FRANCIS BACON

TO

KING JAMES.†

IT MAY PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I SEND your Majesty inclosed a copy of our last examination of Peacham, taken the 10th of this present, whereby your Majesty may perceive, that this miscreant wretch goeth back from all, and denieth his hand and all. No doubt, being fully of belief, that he should go presently down to his trial, he meant now to repeat his part which he purposed to play in the country, which was to deny all. But your Majesty, in your wisdom, perceiveth, that this denial of his hand, being not possible to be counterfeited, and sworn to by Adams, and so oft by himself, formerly confessed and admitted, could not mend his case before any jury in the world, but rather aggravateth it by his notorious impudence and falshood, and will make him more odious. He never deceived me; for, when others had hopes of discovery, and thought time well spent that way, I told your Majesty, *pereuntibus mille figurae*, and that he now did but turn himself into divers shapes, to save or delay his punishment. And therefore, submitting myself to your Majesty's high wisdom, I think myself bound, in conscience, to put your Majesty in remembrance, whether Sir John Sydenham shall be detained upon this

† This letter is not in Mr. MALLOCH's edition.

SIR FR. BACON TO K. JAMES.

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man's impeaching, in whom there is no truth. Notwithstanding, that further inquiry be made of this other person, and that information and light be taken from Mr. Paulet and his servants, I hold it, as things are, necessary. God preserve your Majesty. March 12th, 1614.

Your Majesty's most humble,

and devoted subject and servant,

FR. BACON.†

† The reader, if skilled in the law of England, will determine, whether, in his letters, Bacon writes most like a lawyer, or a courtier.

C

THE EXAMINATION OF EDMOND PEACHAM,
AT THE TOWER, MARCH 10TH, 1614.

BEING asked, when he was last at London, and where he lodged when he was there? he saith he was last at London after the end of the last parliament; but where he lodged, he knoweth not.

Being asked, with what gentlemen, or others in London, when he was here last, he had conference and speech withal? he saith he had speech only with Sir Maurice Berkeley, and that about the petitions only, which had been before sent up to him by the people of the country, touching the apparitors and the grievances offered the people by the court of the officials.

Being asked, touching one Peacham, of his name, what knowledge he had of him, and whether he was not the person that did put into his mind divers of those traiterous passages which are both in his loose and contexted papers? he saith this Peacham, of his name, was a divine, a scholar, and a traveller; and that he came to him some years past, the certainty of the time he cannot remember, and lay at this examinee's house a quarter of a year, and took so much upon him, as he had scarce the command of his own house or study; but that he would be writing, sometimes in the church, sometimes in the steeple, sometimes in this examinee's study; and now saith farther, that those papers, as well loose as contexted, which he had formerly confessed to be of his own hand, might be of the writing of the said

Peacham; and saith confidently, that none of them are his own hand-writing or inditing; but whatsoever is in his former examinations, as well before his Majesty's learned council, as before my Lord of Canterbury, and other the Lords, and others of his Majesty's Privy Council, was wholly out of fear, and to avoid torture, and not otherwise.

Being required to describe what manner of man the said Peacham that lay at his house was; he saith that he was tall of stature, and can make no other description of him, but saith, as he taketh it, he dwelleth sometimes at Honslow as a minister; for he hath seen his letters of orders and licence under the hand of Mr. Dr. Chatterton, sometime bishop of Lincoln. He denieth to set his hand to this examination.

Examinat. per FR. BACON. RANDOLPH CREWE.
GER. HELWYSS. H. YELVERTON.

THE TRUE STATE OF THE QUESTION, WHETHER PEACHAM'S CASE BE TREASON OR NOT.

IN THE HAND-WRITING OF KING JAMES.

THE indictment is grounded upon the statute of Edward the third, that he compassed and imagined the king's death; the indictment then is according to the law, and justly founded; but how is it verified? First, then, I gather this conclusion, that since the indictment is made according to the prescription of law, the process is formal, the law is fulfilled, and the judge and jury are only to hearken to the verification of the hypothesis, and whether the minor be well proved or not.

That his writing of this libel is an overt act, the judges themselves do confess; that it was made fit for publication, the form of it bewrays the self; that he kept not these papers in a secret and safe façon, [manner,] but in an open house and lidless cask, both himself and the messenger do confess; nay, himself confesseth, that he wrote them at the desire of an other man, to whom he should have shown them when they had been perfected, and who craved an account for them, which, though it be denied by the other party, worketh sufficiently against the deponer himself. Nay, he confesses, that in the end he meant to preach it; and though, for diminishing of his fault, he alledges, that he meant first to have taken all the bitterness out

of it, that excuse is altogether absurd; for there is no other stuff in, or through it all, but bitterness, which being taken out, it must be a quintessence of an alchimy spirit, without a body, or Popish accidents, without a substance; and then to what end would he have published such a ghost, or shadow without substance, *cui bono*; and to what end did he so farce [stuff] it first with venom, only to scrape it out again; but it had been hard making that sermon to have tasted well, that was once so spiced, *quo semel est imbuta recens*, &c. But yet this very excuse is by himself overthrown again, confessing, that he meant to retain some of the most crafty malicious parts in it, as &c. §. [So the MS.]

The only question that remains then is, whether it may be verified and proved, that, by the publishing of this sermon, or rather libel of his, he compassed or imagined the king's death? which I prove he did, by this reason; had he compiled a sermon upon any other ground, or stuffed the bulk of it with any other matter, and only powdered it, here and there, with some passages of reprehension of the king; or had he never so bitterly railed against the king, and upbraided him of any two or three, though monstrous vices, it might yet have been some way excusable; or yet had he spewed forth all the venom that is in this libel of his, in a railing speech, either in drunkenness, or upon the occasion of any sudden passion or discontentment, it might likewise have been excused in some sort; but, upon the one part, to heap up all the injuries that the hearts of men, or malice of the devil, can invent against the king, to

disable him, utterly, not to be a king, not to be a Christian, not to be a man, or a reasonable creature, not worthy of breath here, nor salvation hereafter; and, upon the other part, not to do this hastily or rashly, but after long premeditation, first having made collections in scattered papers, and then reduced it to a method, in a formal treatise, a text chosen for the purpose, a prayer premitted, applying all his wits to bring out of that text what he could, *in malam partem*, against the king. This, I say, is a plain proof that he intended to compass or imagine, by this means, the king's destruction. For, will ye look upon the person or quality of the man, it was the far likeliest means he could use to bring his wicked intention to pass; his person an old unable and unweildy man; his quality a minister, a preacher, and that in so remote a part of the country, as he had no more means of access to the king's person, than he had ability of body, or resolution of spirit, to act such a desperate attempt with his own hands upon him; and, therefore, as every creature is ablest, in their own element, either to defend themselves, or annoy their adversaries, as [birds] in the air, fishes in the waters, and so forth, what so ready and natural means had he whereby to annoy the king, as by publishing such a seditious libel, and so, under the specious pretext of conscience, to inflame the hearts of the people against him. Now, here is no illation nor inference made upon the statute; it stands *in puris naturalibus*, but only a just inference and probation of the guilty intention of this party. So the only thing the judges can doubt of,

is, of the delinquent's intention; and then the question will be, whether if these reasons be stronger to enforce the guiltiness of his intention, or his bare denial to clear him, since nature teaches every man to defend his life as long as he may; and whether, in case there were a doubt herein, the judges should not rather incline to that side wherein all probability lies: but if judges will needs trust better the bare negative of an infamous delinquent, without expressing what other end he could probably have, than all the probabilities, or rather infallible consequences upon the other part, caring more for the safety of such a monster, than the preservation of a crown, in all ages following, whereupon depend the lives of many millions; happy then are all desperate and seditious knaves, but the fortune of this crown is more than miserable. *Quod Deus avertat!* *

* The manner of spelling used by King JAMES, is so peculiar, that it was necessary to change it. The language, however, is preserved without any alteration. Some readers will be apt to think that a King ought not to employ his learning and his logic in enlarging the boundaries of high-treason.

T H O M A S S H E R L E Y

T O

K I N G J A M E S.

PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

FIRST to pardon my boldness, and then to vouchsafe to bow down your gracious eye upon this enclosed paper, wherein your Majesty may behold (if you please) the true anatomy of a most ruined poor gentleman; unless it will please your Highness (out of your princely benignity) to raise me out of the dust, and enable me, to do your Majesty better service than hitherto I have done: and this your Majesty may easily do, if you please, without any charge to you, only in forgiving me the seven thousand pounds, which is yet unpaid, to the Earl of Somerset, for my ransom from him; whereby your Majesty may enable me to an estate able to live; and only give me that which you have formerly bestowed upon another, and I must pay out of my poor means, to mine utter ruin. It is the work of God to return this power into your Majesty's hand, that thereby I may be relieved, and freed from perdition.

And, for a conclusion, I do prostrate myself at your Majesty's feet, humbly beseeching, that my miserable suit be not the worse thought of, because I fly directly to your Highness, without any collateral means.

To your Majesty, I vowed my life and service twenty years since; to your Majesty's grace, I most humbly

TH. SHERLEY TO K. JAMES.

41

desire to be bound. And so, in all humility, I leave
your Majesty to the protection of the Almighty, whom
I do daily beseech long to preserve your royal life.

Your Majesty's

poorest servant and subject,

THOMAS SHERLEY.*

The 21st of January, 1615.

* There were some very enterprising men of the family of
SHERLEY. On the 10th of July 1600, ANTONY SHER-
LEY, possibly the father of this THOMAS, wrote to K. JAMES
from Archangel, that he had disjoined the Great Sophi of Per-
sia from the main body of the blasphemous sect of the Maho-
metans, and that he himself was dispatched by the Sophi to all
Christian princes, with assurances of the Sophi's willingness
"to combine his arms with theirs against that great enemy of
"God and man, the Emperor of the Turks."

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A BRIEF OF SUCH THINGS AS I DO MOST
HUMBLY DESIRE YOUR MAJESTY TO
PLEASE TO TAKE INTO YOUR ROYAL
CONSIDERATION.

My late father and myself have (with all our best endeavours) served your Majesty both in the late Queen's time and sithence, to both our great charges, and mine extreme peril.

Videlicet: At such time as the late Earl of Effex was executed, my Lord of Marr, my Lord of Kinlofs, now dead, and Sir David Foulis, were sent in embassage to the late Queen, these, in one conference, amongst divers others with my father and me, did greatly wish some good means to be found, to furnish your Majesty with a round sum of money.

Many debates there were to that purpose, and no likely way could be thought of, till I offered to hazard my life and estate, to attempt to take from the Turk (who is enemy to God and man) his treasure, and to lay it down, being taken, at your Majesty's feet. This project was allowed and liked.

Whereupon I rode post to Florence, and put myself into the service of that Duke, for the better countenance of my business, and to have a rendezvous where to refresh myself and my men.

At my return from thence I met Sir Thomas Erskine, now Lord Fentone, at Paris; and, by express command from your Majesty, I made relation unto

him of mine expedition in this business, who did well allow of it.

At his return into Scotland, at that time, he passed through England, and was twice at my father's house in the Black-friars, and did at both times spur on this enterprize.

Then I provided for it, and went to sea with five ships well furnished, and was overthrown by storms and contrary winds. After which I set out three ships, and with them I entered into the Streights.

Both these voyages cost my father fourteen thousand pounds (for which I am (yet) the poorer). This charge I can prove by accompt.

In this latter, I was by my men betrayed, and taken prisoner by the Turks, where I continued three years in most unspeakable misery, such as I would not endure the like again for ten thousand pounds, as poor as I am.

Whilst I was in this barbarous captivity, the Queen died, and my father (God his pleasure being such) made the worst bargain with your Majesty that ever was, and such a one as no man living will make the like. He obtained from your Majesty one thousand pounds a-year, in parsonages, in fee farm, for which he doubled the rent, and bound the parsonages to pay one thousand pounds a-year for ever, and his land the other. These parsonages he sold all, and left my land bound to pay this surplussage of rent, without any comfort, but all the loss that this unhappy bargain yielded.

44 SHERLEY'S MEMORIAL TO K. JAMES.

My father (being a man of excellent and working wit) did find out the device for making of baronets, which brought to your Majesty's coffers well nigh a hundred thousand pounds, for which he was promised by the late Lord of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, a good recompence, which he never had.

It (once) pleased your Majesty (in consideration of the great losses sustained by my father and myself) most graciously to give unto my father a grant of concealed alienations; by which means we both hoped to have recovered our great losses in the* _____

_____ when he was even ready to have received some benefit by it, the grant was taken from him by the violent instigation of the late Earl of Northampton.

When I returned home from my long and tedious captivity, your Majesty was graciously pleased to afford me good countenance, gracious words, and to pity and commiserate my miserable estate, but never gave me the worth of one groat.

When God pleased to take my father to his mercy, I went to the court with a purpose to become an humble suiter to your Majesty for a release of my rent-charge; then, the Earl of Somerset, being in great favour, crossed my suit, and begged it for himself.

With him I compounded, and have paid him the whole sum agreed, saving seven thousand pounds; for

* There is a line or two illegible at this place.

raising of which money already paid, I was forced to sell land at half the value, to mine utter undoing. He was greedy and earnest, and my land is subject to so many cross entanglements, as very few would buy any of it; and these few would not deal, but upon very unreasonable conditions.

SIR FRANCIS BACON

TO

KING JAMES.†

IT MAY PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELL. MAJESTY,

It pleased your Majesty to commit to my care and trust for Westminster-hall three particulars. That of the *Rege inconsulto*, which concerneth Mr. Murray. That of the *Commendams*, which concerneth the bishop of Lincoln. And that of the *Habeas Corpus*, which concerneth the chancery.

These causes, although I gave them private additions, yet they are merely, or at least chiefly, yours; and the die runneth upon your royal prerogatives, diminution, or entire conservation. Of these it is my duty to give your Majesty a short account.

For that of the *Rege inconsulto*, I argued the same in the King's Bench on Thursday last. There argued on the other part Mr. George Crook, the judges brother, an able book-man, and one that was manned forth with all the furniture that the bar could give him, (I will not say the bench,) and with the study of a long vacation. I was to answer, which hath a mixture of the sudden; and of myself I will not, nor cannot say any thing, but that my voice served me well for two hours and an half; and that those that understood nor

† This letter is not in Mr. MALLOCH's edition,

thing, could tell me that I lost not one auditor that was present in the beginning, but stayed till the latter end. If I should say more, there were too many witnesses; (for I never saw the court more full) that might disprove me.

My Lord Coke was pleased to say, that it was a famous argument; but, withal, he asked me a politic and tempting question; for, taking occasion by a notable precedent I had cited, where, upon the like writ brought, all the judges in England assembled, and that privately, lest they should seem to dispute the king's commandment; and, upon conference, with one mind, agreed, that the writ must be obeyed. Upon this hold, my Lord asked me, whether I would have all the rest of the judges called to it. I was not caught; but knowing well that the judges of the Common-pleas were most of all others interested in respect of the pre-notaries, I answered civilly, that I could advise of it; but that I did not distrust the court; and, besides, I thought the case so clear, as it needed not.

Sir, I do perceive, that I have not only stopped, but almost turned the stream; and I see how things cool, by this, that the judges that were wont to call so hotly upon the business, when they had heard me, of themselves, took a fortnight day to advise what they will do, by which time the term will be near at an end; and I know they little expected to have the matter so beaten down with book-law, upon which my argument wholly went; so that every mean student was satisfied. Yet, because the times are yet as they are, I could

wish, in all humbleness, that your Majesty would remember and renew your former commandment which you gave my Lord Chief Justice in Michaelmas term, which was, that, after he had heard your Attorney, (which is now done) he should forbear further proceeding till he had spoke with your Majesty.

It concerneth your Majesty threefold. First, in this particular of Murray. Next, in the consequence of fourteen severall patents, part in Queen Elifabeth's time, some in your Majesty's time, which depend upon the like question; but, chiefly, because this writ is a mean provided by the antient law of England, to bring any cause that may concern your Majesty, in profit or power, from the ordinary benches, to be tried and judged before your Chancellor of England, by the ordinary and legal part of his power; and your Majesty knoweth your Chancellor is ever a principal counsellor, and instrument of monarchy, of immediate dependence upon the King; and therefore like to be a safe and tender guardian of the royal rights.

For the case of the commendams, a matter likewise of great consequence, (though nothing near the first) this day I was prepared to have argued it before all the judges; but, by reason of the sickness of the Sergeant which was provided to argue on the other side, although I pressed to have had some other day appointed this term; yet it pleased divers of the judges to do me the honour, as to say that it was not fit any should argue against me, upon so small time of warning, it is adjourned to the first Saturday next term.

TO KING JAMES.

49

For the matter of the *habeas corpus*, I perceive this common employment of my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Chief Justice in these examinations, is such a *vinculum*, as they will not square while these matters are in hand, so that there is *altum silentium* of that matter. God ever preserve your Majesty. 27th of January, 1615.

Your Majesty's most humble,

and bounded subject and servant,

FR. BACON.

D

EARL OF PEMBROKE

TO

SIR EDWARD ZOUCH.

HONEST NED,

I know you love your master dearly, and his pleasures, which makes me put you in trust with this business, myself not being able to stay in the town so late.

I pray you, therefore, as soon as it grows dark, fail not to send the close cart to Bassingborn for the speckled sow ye saw the king take such liking unto this day; and let her be privately brought to the man of the wardrobe, by the same token, that I chide him for letting the other beasts go carelessly into the garden while it was day, and he will presently receive her into his charge. Some may think this a jest; but I assure you it is a matter of trust and confidence; and so, assuring myself of your secret and careful performance of it, I rest,

Your affectionate friend,

PEMBROKE. †

† This letter may be considered as a burlesque of the manners of some grave men, who are *secret* and *careful* about things of little more moment than the *speckled sow* that King James took such liking unto.

A PROPOSITION FOR THE REPRESSING OF SINGULAR COMBATS OR DUELS.

IN THE HAND-WRITING OF SIR FRANCIS BACON. *

FIRST, for the ordinance which his Majesty may establish herein; I wish it may not look back to any offence past; for that strikes before *The time,* it warns. I wish also it may be declared to be temporary, until a parliament; for that will be very acceptable to the parliament: and it is good to teach a parliament to work upon an edict or proclamation precedent.

For the manner; I should think fit there be published a grave and severe proclamation, induced by the overflow of the present mischief. *The manner.*

For the ordinance itself: first, I consider that offence hath vogue only amongst noble persons, or persons of quality. I consider also, that the greatest honour for subjects of quality in a lawful monarchy, is, to have access, and approach to their Sovereign's sight and person, which is the fountain of honour; and though this be a comfort all persons of quality do not use; yet there is no good spirit but will think himself in darkness, if he be debarred of it. Therefore I do propound, that the principal

*Banishment
perpetual
from the
court of the
king, queen,
and prince.*

* Not in Mr. MALLOCH's edition.

52 PROPOSAL FOR SUPPRESSING DUELS.

part of the punishment be, that the offender (in the cases hereafter set down) be banished perpetually from approach to the courts of the king, queen, or prince.

Secondly, That the same offender receive a strict prosecution by the king's attorney, *ore tenus*, in the Star-Chamber; (for the fact being notorious, will always be confessed, and so made fit for an *ore tenus*). And that this prosecution be without respect of persons, be the offender never so great, and that the fine set be irremissible.

The cases. Lastly, For the cases, that they be these following.

1. Where any singular combat, upon what quarrel soever, is acted, and performed, though death do not ensue.

2. Where any person passeth beyond the seas, with purpose to perform any singular combat, though it be never acted.

3. Where any person sendeth a challenge.

4. Where any person accepteth a challenge.

5. Where any person carrieth or delivereth a challenge.

6. Where any person appointeth the field, directly or indirectly, although it be not upon any cartel or challenge in writing.

7. Where any person accepteth to be a second in any quarrel.

MR. DU MOULIN

TO

K I N G J A M E S.

SIRE,

Je loue Dieu de ce qu'il a conduit et adressé heureusement votre voyage, vous ayant ramené au lieu de votre demeure ordinaire. Durant l'esloignement de votre Majesté nous n'avons pas ici manqué d'exercice. Ceste court est semblable à la maison dont un esprit malin étant sorti, sept autres esprits pires que lui sont entrés en sa place. De sorte que nous avons sujet de souhaiter que ceux qui y sont entrés de nouveau y demeurent de peur que d'autres pires ne leur succèdent. Le Pere Cotton, ayant quitté la court par le commandement du Roy, a quitté la place à d'autres qui ne valent pas mieux : entr'autres à un Jesuite nommé Arnoux, fort ignorant, mais plein de venin et d'artifice, armé d'une eloquence theatrale, avec laquelle il nous deschire et noircit comme diables en presence du Roy. Un jour il s'avisa d'esplucher la confession de nos eglises devant le Roy, avec calomnies tendantes à sedition. Qui plus est, il nous a envoyé un abregé de son sermon, par forme de deffi, au veu et par consentement du Roy. Auquel escrit nous avons respondu par un livre que j'ai donné a Monsieur votre ambassadeur, pour l'envoyer à votre Majesté. L'epistre de ce livre dediée au Roy a fait un grand esclat, pource que c'est un chose inusitée, et une hardiesse

sans exemple, d'oser parler au Roy de la religion. Le clergé a député vers le Roy des prelatz, qui pour nous convaincre de sedition, ont, entre autres preuves, présenté au Roy, le βασιλικὸν δῶρον de vostre Majesté, où elle se plaint de quelques Puritains qui l'ont persécutée devant sa naissance : et la dessus les gens du Roy ont fait contre nous des poursuites criminelles, dont le peuple étant en esmotion, le Roy pour empêcher que cela ne causast de l'alteration en son estat, a avoqué l'affaire en son conseil. Où nous avons été appelles tous quatre pour defendre notre cause. Là, en plein conseil, Monsieur le Chancelier, nous a fait une longue remontrance dont la somme estoit : Que notre epistre avoit donné au Roy sujet de s'offenser. Que nous pouvions en nos predications et livres parler de notre religion ; mais, que le Roy ne trouve pas bon, qu'on sollicite sa conscience. Qu'en ceste epistre nous appellions nos Rois persecuteurs. Que nous renouvelions la memoire des maux passés, que l'edict du Roy commande d'assôpir. Que insolément et contre verité nous nous y vantons d'avoir seuls mis la couronne sur la teste du feu Roy. Que nous y appellons nos eglises *nos peuples*, comme si nous estions princes. Que nous taschons de mettre le Roy en mauvais mesnage avec le Pape, lequel si nous ne voulons recognoistre en autre qualité, au moins est il un grand Prince et ami du Roy. Que si nous voulons nous enquerir de l'ambassadeur du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, nous pourrions apprendre que si tost qu'il se plaint de quelque escrit où le Roy son Maitre est offensé, incontinent on lui donne conteste-

ment. Pour lesquelles causes, il nous declara, que le Roy nous defendoit de lui adresser aucun livre ni epistre sans l'avoir premierement communiquée a son conseil.

A quoi apres les submissions, requises, nous respondismes; qu'estant sujets du Roy nous pensions avoir la liberté de lui former nos plaintes quand on nous outrage en sa presence. Qu'en nostre epistre nous ne nommons point nos Rois persecuteurs, mais que seulement nous disons que non obstant les persecutions que nous avons souffertes sous eux, nous leur sommes demeurés fideles. Ce que nous disons non par plainte, ni pour renouveler la memoire des maux passés, mais pour comparer nos comportemens avec ceux des Jesuites qui nous calomnient, lesquels apres tant de biens receus, ne laissent de soutenir que le Pape peut deposer le Roy, ausquels nous ne voyons point que pour cela en face aucune remonstrance. Que nous ne nous vantons pas d'avoir mis nous seuls la couronne sur la teste du Roy: mais seulement, que nous l'avons porté au Royaume a la pointe de l'espée: a quoi nous ne nions pas que plusieurs Catholiques Romains n'ayent contribué: mais qu'eux n'ayant pas faute de personnes qui parlent pour eux, nous nous sommes contentés de parler pour nous mesmes. Que ce mot, *nos peuples*, est une faute d'impression. Que nous sommes contents de reconnoistre le Pape en qualité de prince, pourveu qu'il se veuille contenter de ceste qualité. Je commençois à dire que nous ne comparons pas votre Majesté avec le

Pape, mais Mr. le Chancelier m'imposa silence, et nous falut sortir.

Peu de jours apres arrest a esté donné au conseil, par lequel nous est defendu de plus adresser aucun livre ou epistre au Roy, sans l'avoir au preallable communiquée au conseil.

Au mesme temps deux pirates Rochelois ayant esté rompus sur la rouë à Bordeaux, Mr. Cameron Escossois, ministre de Bordeaux, qui les avoit consolés au supplice, en a escrit des lettres consolatoires, aux parents de ces criminels; esquelles il loue leur repentance et constance en la mort. Cea lettres, imprimées a la Rochelle, sont venues es mains de la cour de parlement de Bordeaux, qui les a fait brusser en public par la main du bourreau, comme si elles taschoient à faire deux martyrs de deux brigans, combien que à la verité il n'y a rien en ces lettres qui tende a cela.

Depuis huit jours un gentilhomme de qualité de la religion, nommé Beauvais St. Germain, a esté pris en sa maison, et mené à Moulins, où il a esté le mesme jour decapité contre toutes formes, et sans lui permettre la voye d'appel, par une estrange precipitation, sur une accusation de fausse monoye. Dont ceux qui ont esté depuis executés apres lui l'ont deschargé. Et cela en haine de sa religion. La Royne est toujours a Bloys, où elle est après a y establir les Jesuites. Les biens ecclesiastiques qui ont esté tenus par ceux de la religion il y a plus de cinquante ans au pays de Bearn, leur ont esté arrachés depuis peu de jours par arrest du conseil et

ont esté rendus aux evesques et curés, dont le pays est en grande esmeute ; pour ce que les villes, et les garnisons, et les charges, et offices sont tenus par ceux de la religion, qui font demonstration de ne vouloir se dessaisir de ce qu'ils possèdent, par la volonté et establissement fait [par] le feu Roy et par la Royne sa mere. Hier les gardes furent redoublées à Mr. Le Prince sur un advertissement qu'on eut qu'il y avoit entreprise pour le tirer du prison. Voila, Sire, l'estat de nos affaires, par lequel votre Majesté cognoistra que Dieu ne nous laisse point sans exercice et sans crainte pour l'avenir. Parmi ces maux nous avons ce bien, que nostre jeune Roy n'est point porté de son naturel à la violence, et aime la justice, et commence à se faire craindre. Votre Majesté, qui lui sert d'exemple de vertu, et qui lui a tousjours suggeré des bons conseils et salutaires, lui servira aussi, moyennant la grace de Dieu, d'exemple de benedictions de Dieu et d'une longue prosperité. J'y porterai mes vœux, et demeurerai toute ma vie,

Sire, de votre Majesté

tres humble, et tres obeissant serviteur,

DU MOULIN. †

† This letter is addressed Au Roi, and yet Du Moulin did not mean to renounce his alledgeance to the King of France. The appeal made by the prelates of the Gallican church to the authority of King JAMES's book, in order to blacken their own puritans, is remarkable.

QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK

TO

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM, †

ANNA R.

MY KING DOG.

If I have any power or credit with you, I pray you let me have a trial of it at this time, in dealing sincerely and earnestly with the king, that Sir Walter Raleigh's life may not be called in question. If you do it, so that the success answer my expectation, assure yourself that I will take it extraordinary kindly at your hands; and rest one that wisheth you well, and desires you to continue still, as you have been, a true servant to your master.

† The reader owes the publication of this singular paper to Dr. CHARLES LYTLETON, Dean of Exeter, who copied it from the original in the hands of Bishop TANNER, 1733. The character of Dean LYTLETON affords sufficient evidence of its authenticity.

COUNTESS OF DORSET

T O

KING JAMES.

MOST BLESSED KING,

CHRIST himself was not offended with the women that sought him; and my trust is, he directs me still to your Majesty, being sure I have neither broken the laws of God to my husband, nor the laws of your kingdom, neither offended you in deed, word, or thought; and therefore, as I will assuredly trust in the Almighty, I shall never have cause to come to you for mercy, so will I never leave suing unto you for justice, knowing you are the kings of the earth, to do all rights for the King of heaven.

I humbly beseech you, give me leave to speak with you, that I may not be condemned before I answer for myself; for it remains no small grief to my heart, that your Majesty should tell me I was mad, being most assured that your Majesty's heart could not be so much hardened, if you heard not many more false tales against me than that. But if my importunities may offend, I beseech you, lay the blame upon the extreme wrongs and miseries I have endured, that have now lived three quarters of a year without any allowance for food to suffice nature. I have ten times (before and since my Lord Treasurer's death) both sent, written, and gone myself to my husband, but can neither speak

60 COUNTESS OF DORSET TO K. JAMES.

with him, nor be permitted to come within his doors; but only his servants answering me out of a window, that I must not come in.

My humble desires are but these, that my cause may be heard, and my faults known; that if I have not truly deserved those scandals, wrongs, and infamies I have endured (which will ever remain upon me and my posterity) I may have justice, and either to go home to my husband, upon honourable terms, free from dangers, or else to have mine own poor fortunes, with such further allowance as may maintain those honours (your Majesty was the ground of) and God now hath cast upon me, together with the securing of my estate I brought, which (by a purchase of the late Lord Treasurer's) stands endangered; and I have sued to have redress thereof, and, as yet, have received no justice.

Your Majesty promised to hear me; and the word of a king is just; and I will hold the same as an inheritance to my soul; for which I will yield my life, with all duties,

Humbly,

at your Majesty's feet,

AN. DORSET.

COUNTESS OF DORSET

TO

KING JAMES.

MY MOST DEAR SOVEREIGN,

MAY it please your Majesty to give me leave to let you understand how my causes go in my continued afflictions.

In your Majesty's name, I was the second time committed to prison, not yet knowing the cause of that commitment, and still remain debarred, not only of your presence, but of the queen's and the princes also, not being able to conceive the cause: and yet, whereas by the princely word of your Majesty, proceeding from your own mouth, I should have had 1600 l. yearly for my maintenance, in my late husband's days, I cannot yet obtain one penny thereof, although I have been ever since in a chargeable suit for the same; and unless it shall please your Majesty to signify to my Lord Chancellor, that it was your pleasure (which I trust your Majesty doth remember) that I should enjoy so much, my counsel inform me, that I have no way but that only to recover it.

If the greatest enemy I have, can prove, that by any faults committed by me, either in breach of my vows to my husband, or offence to your Majesty, or any your laws, I did deserve so great afflictions, as to be debarred of meat, drink, and other necessities for the su-

stenance of my life, in my husband's time, I intreat no favour herein: and therefore (no such thing to be proved) I will ever most humbly seek justice at your Majesty's hands, where I assure myself to find it.

Touching the suits for my dowry: I am now with exceeding much ado your Majesty's sworn widow; and, therefore, am much comforted to remember, that your Majesty took an oath to Almighty God at your coronation, to defend and protect me in my just causes, your Majesty having none other yet but myself in this your kingdom; neither hath the like been in the whole reigns of Queen Elisabeth, Queen Mary, or King Edward, as I can possibly find with my great charges and labour; and, therefore, now most humbly beseech your Majesty to make me so much bound unto you, as command my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Treasurer, without farther delay, to suffer me to enjoy the benefit of your most princely prerogative, according to your Majesty's laws provided in that behalf. And if I had known, or might have been suffered to have taken my oath, to have been your Majesty's widow (which I often tendered in your Majesty's courts personally) I might have been as near the obtaining of my dowry a year since as now.

And if still the like courses be offered (as have been carried against me in all my suits) give me leave, most Dread Sovereign, to relate them unto you, that your Majesty, knowing them truly, may not only relieve me, but others that may happen to taste the like miseries, by the like delays.

And so I will ever pray unto the Almighty, upon the knees of my soul, that he will always direct your heart to trust only those whom your Majesty shall find loyal and faithful: and so careful to see your Majesty's laws duly executed, as neither favour nor affection may bias or pervert their proceedings therein, to the safety of your Majesty, and all yours, and to the joy and comfort of your loving subjects in all your kingdoms.

In all humbleness,

your Majesty's sworn widow,

AN. DORSET. †

Because your Majesty is not at leisure to hear me yourself, I will go and impart some matters to my Lord of Canterbury, hoping he will truly acquaint your Majesty therewith.

† This letter, and the preceding one, seem to have been written by ANNE SPENCER, married first to HENRY lord COMPTON, afterwards to ROBERT earl of DORSET. COLLINS, in his Pedigree of SACKVILLE, calls her a lady of wit and spirit. The first letter must have been written in the 1608, the only year in which ROBERT was earl: the second might have been written in any subsequent year before the 1618, when this lady died. For the explanation of the phrase *King's widow*, see SPELMAN, Gloss. voc. *vidua Regis*.

SIR FRANCIS BACON

TO

KING JAMES.†

IT MAY PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCEL. MAJESTY,

It being one thing to speak or write, specially to a king in public, another thing in private. Although I have dedicated a work, or rather a portion of a work, (which at last I have overcome) to your Majesty, by a public epistle, where I speak to you in the hearing of others; yet I thought fit also humbly to seek access for the same, not so much to your person, as to your judgment, by these private lines.

The work, in what colours soever it may be set forth, is no more but a new logic, teaching to invent and judge by induction (as finding syllogism incompetent for sciences of nature) and thereby to make philosophy and sciences both more true and more active.

This, tending to enlarge the bounds of reason, and to endue man's estate with new value; was no improper oblation to your Majesty, who, of men, is the greatest master of reason, and author of beneficence.

There be two of your council, and one other bishop of this land, that know I have been about some such work near thirty years; so as I have made no haste. And the reason why I have published it now, specially being imperfect, is, to speak plainly, because I

† This letter is not in Mr. MALLETT's edition.

number my days, and would have it saved. There is another reason of my so doing, which is, to try whether I can get help in one intended part of this work; namely, the compiling of a natural and experimental history, which must be the main foundation of a true and active philosophy.

This work is but a new body of clay, whereunto your Majesty, by your countenance and protection, may breathe life: and, to tell your Majesty truly what I think, I account your favour may be to this work, as much as an hundred years time; for I am persuaded, the work will gain upon men's minds in ages: but your gracing it, may make it take hold more swiftly; which I would be glad of, it being a work not meant for praise or glory, but for practice, and the good of men. One thing I confess I am ambitious of, with hope, which is, that, after these beginnings, and the wheel once set on going, men shall suck more truth out of Christian pens than hitherto they have done out of Heathen: I say with hope, because I hear my former book of *Advancement of learning* is well tasted in the universities and the English colleges abroad: and this is the same argument sunken deeper; and so I ever humbly rest in prayers, and all other duties,

Your Majesty's most bounden,
and devoted servant,

FR. VERULAM, Care.

York-house, this 12th
of October, 1620.

SIR HENRY YELVERTON,

ATTORNEY-GENERAL,

TO

MR. JOHN MURRAY

OF THE BED-CHAMBER.

HONOURABLE SIR,

I RECEIVED from Mr. Chancellor of the exchequer an answer drawn to your petition, concerning the old debts, wherein he would have me join with him. He was earnest for the return thereof to him, but I thought I would give no consent thereto, till you had seen it; I therefore stole so much time as to scribble it forth, and send you account of it, which will not please you; for there is nothing in it for good for you, or gainful to you. I have sent it him back, without consent, and have with a little ink signified some disallowances. He thinks he hath done you much kindness, which you know best if it be so. You know his double disposition, to be both full of delays, before he doth any thing, and full of resolution, when he conceives a thing, not to alter it. I find by some of my honourable friends, some lords, some ladies, that this vote of the London charter, and of my prosecution for it, hath been in council and determination long, and that the great Marquis * hath it under his Majesty's hand: First, That he gave no war-

* BUCKINGHAM.

SIR H. YELVERTON TO MR J. MURRAY. 67

tant to me for the granting of any new liberties to the city. Secondly, That having been oft informed by Sir Edward Coke in private, when none but the marquis was present, that what was done was without warrant, and to the great loss of his Majesty; that I shall not only be cast out of my place, but his Majesty hath also promised liberty for my being called into Star-Chamber. I confess I shall be one of the last shall believe this, it doth so much transform my master from that habit of mercy, grace, and respect, he hath ever shewed me; but if the importunity of the great man hath gained so much on his Majesty's affection, as to let so severe justice fly upon so well an affected and true-hearted servant as I have been, I will bemoan my misfortune in secret, and humbly bear what he shall inflict, though I shall be the first that ever was brought to a king's service, afflicted all the time I served, and then be laid upon the wheel, as a reward for my time spent, which yet I thank God hath wholly been for his Majesty, and not for myself. Let not these things trouble you; for it is told me such things will come, and are near coming. God's will and his Majesty's be done; for it is told me the gibbet is appointed before I be heard. And, when I was on Friday last called before the Lords, Sir Edward Coke told me he had been a suitor to his Majesty, that he might have been none of the commissioners; but his Majesty would force him against his desire to be one, which shews some face of a great intended prosecution, the rather because he was then in no small jollity. And your letter, which I received late yesternight (for which

I thank you) importeth much cause of fear, when the commissioners have already reported, that neither my second warrant, which I shewed them, is sufficient for what is done, nor that they themselves are in any sort satisfied; which report of theirs meaneth no good to me; but as I am resolved, in the end, be it never so heavy, so my own conscience cleareth me, that all my proceedings have been faithful and honest.

The commissioners hereby seem to prejudice his Majesty that signed the warrant; but I am inclosed among such a company as have waited long my overthrow; for I am ignorant what warrant can be better, than when his Majesty saith, what course soever I shall settle between the city and you, shall be well liking to him. Now, the course I settled was this, to confirm their old liberties, and to give them some small additions of new liberties for better government, so as if this warrant serve me not, nothing could; for it is general. Secondly, Leaveth the course to be taken to my discretion. Thirdly, Promiseth an approbation to what I shall do; and when some of the lords, as my Lord Arandel and Sir Edward Coke, said to me, that warrant was not enough, I answered, I thought it was; and his Majesty, and not they, must judge it. Howsoever, I said, it could be made no error, but by construction, they construing it one way, and I another; at the most, it is but a fault of ignorance in my misconstruing the king's meaning secretly implied in those general words, and no advised or purposed error. I told them likewise, I had warrant from his Majesty by word of mouth; for, in truth,

TO MR. JOHN MURRAY.

At Whitehall, when I attended him about this service, and he was pleased in special at your motion and mine, to say he would have the wastes and encroachments of the city confirmed to them, though at the time he was offered 30000 l. by a great lord for them. I then proposed to him the first particular liberty they desired, which was to have him that shall be mayor the next year, justice of peace the year before, that he might be a little trained up in government before he took it upon him, which his Majesty then approved; and I farther saying, they desired some other petty matters, he left them to my discretion, wherein I hope his Majesty will not disavow me.

That which grieveth me most, is, the great noise this business maketh; for their so long and so often sitting, must make the world believe the Attorney is a great offender.

I had hoped that his Majesty would have taken a shorter course, as to have heard their objections and my answers in writing, which had soon been set down, but the policy of the lords is otherwise, to which his Majesty giving way, I must and do humbly and willingly submit.

The lords, when I was last before them, touched no particular fault in the charter, but asked divers other questions, which I answered, and I had thought they had sent them to the king; so would I have been glad from you to have known how his Majesty took them.

I confess, I being unacquainted with these kind of attendances, and knowing my innocency, cannot but

20 SIR HENRY YELVERTON

much be troubled, to see the snare laid for me, out of spleen, and much more to see my master thus destitute me, and giving power to them to load me with what disgraces they can invent; and you know Sir Edward Coke wants not invention in this kind; for he can make motes beams.

I see the hand of God is in it; and I will wait his, and his Majesty's leisure, and let this act fall out either tragically or not. I shall desire to redeem my quiet with the loss and leaving of my place; for I can live contentedly with a sallad, where four herbs are not, rather than to bear the shew of a place, when others do so much shadow it, For the point of Bedlam, which you pointed at when I talked with you, it is as you said; but no loss to his Majesty; for King Henry the Eighth having made the mayor and commonalty perpetual governors, orderers, and disposers of the lands he had given to Bedlam, whereby they have ever since disposed them, and leased them at their pleasure, and the crown never meddled with them, nor could by the first intention of the king. Mr. Recorder desired that the lands themselves might now be passed to them: First, Because it was directly within their petition, to have the lands, intended to them, assured to them. Secondly, Because they found much hurt in keeping them as they did; for if either any stranger wronged them in these provisions, or any tenant would not avoid at the end of his lease, they had no remedy by law to right these wrongs, so as the king losing nothing, and the city hereby being made owners, where before they

TO MR. JOHN MURRAY. 98

were the only disposers of them. I hope it is directly within my warrant, and am sure the king, in honour, power, and profit, is as before.

I am sorry I offend so much in length; but it is because I would desire you may fully understand the business, and be a helper, as you may. For which I will ever rest,

Yours at command,

HENRY YELVERTON,

24th April, 1620.

E

SIR HENRY YELVERTON,
ATTORNEY-GENERAL,

TO

MR. JOHN MURRAY
OF THE BED-CHAMBER.

HONOURABLE SIR,

I WAS before the lords yesterday, who examined Mr. Recorder, and others; I know not who they were. They also examined me of many particulars, but with a charge from his Majesty, not to discover to any where-upon I was examined; therefore must be silent. They also enjoin, that I shall not confer with Mr. Recorder, nor with the Solicitor of the city, whereby I am bereaved of much munition and arms I might otherwise have; for if my being too credulous to them have not brought forth some errors, I dare swear there is no hurt done. I would have been very glad I might know the particulars wherein they take his Majesty wronged, in honour, or in loss; for I know I could prove they cast their accompt amiss; and that by no wrested way it can appear, the loss to 40 sh. by year. Besides, if it were once discovered, wherein they found his Majesty pinched, the lord mayor and aldermen have this day sent me word they will humbly and gladly renounce all those particulars, and lay themselves at his Majesty's feet.

I must still tell you, the confidence of my enemies is

great and joyful: and the breakfast a friend brought me this morning, was, that the marquis * on Sunday said, he would make me the poorest attorney that ever was. I thank God, none of their spleen shall make me impatient. What tormenteth me, is, lest by this means they settle in his Majesty some opinion of my unfaithfulness, which will not so easily be recovered; which I suspect the more, because I find his Majesty hath been so long acquainted with this matter, and is so reserved to you, and me, and all other my friends: only my triumph is, that they shall never dare upbraid me with corruption or under-hand dealing.

If his Majesty would but make me so happy, that I might have the words in the charter set down, let me be made a wonder, if I do not fully satisfy all them that have not promised to themselves not to be satisfied; howbeit, herein is part of my misery, that these things be grounded wholly upon course of law, for drawing the books, and for choice of words and of covenants. There is none of the commissioners that understands law but Sir Edward Coke; and I fear he will be content to forget it, and translate it to a stranger sense in my case, than he would in the case of some others; for, you know, the sight of a white rag hung on a hedge, will make a whole herd of deer to stand at gaze.

But what his Majesty appoints, I humble myself to it; and, so I were off the stage, I skill not who plays my

* Marquis of BUCKINGHAM.

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part, if his Majesty be settled that I have not abused him, which I would not do for the city of London.

The lords will keep this from burning a long time, during which, I shall be like a lamp, with the light downward, that quencheth itself. I am glad I have so worthy a friend, my messenger; for, next his Majesty, I most trust in you two. So rest, distracted, unfit for any service, I am so encumbered with this burden I may not yet be suffered to ease myself of; yet shall ever rest,

Unfeignedly,

Your friend and servant,

H. YELVERTON.♥

25th April, 1620.

* From this, and the preceding letter, the reader will perceive, how ill informed R. JOHNSTONE was, in saying, "Yelvertonus se cum moderatione ac judicio defendit, invitum in donationes quas injuste inpetratas putaret, consensisse, atque crimen in mandatarios [mandantes] depulit; quibus aut ¶ parendum, aut procuratoris officium amittendum."

Rep. Brit. l. xviii. p. 559.

THE EARL OF MELROS,
SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES.*

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

THE nobility and council being convened in this town, as they were appointed, upon the 25th of this month, they spent that day and the next in deliberation upon the best means to give humble and effectual satisfaction to your Majesty, in your desire of their supply to the defence of the Palatinate, the native patrimony of your Majesty's grand-children; and finding sundry things necessary to be proponed to your royal consideration, which they thought could not so conveniently be represented by letter, as by more ample relation of one of their number; the Archbishop of Saint Andrews being very instantly requested by them all to undertake that charge, which he could not well decline, has re-

* This letter, and the following ones from the Earl of MELROS, better known by the title of Earl of HADINGTON, are published to shew the manner in which public affairs were conducted in our Scottish parliaments. A parliamentary history of Scotland, from the Union of the Crowns to the Union of the Kingdoms, authenticated by original papers, would be a work equally entertaining and instructive; for such a work, materials may be procured; and the publisher of this collection is willing to contribute his best assistance.

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solved not to lose any time, but has already begun his journey towards court, lest delay might have procured your Majesty's offence, and hindrance to that important and most necessary business, which all good subjects do zealously affect. Nothing will hinder the haste of his passage, unless the extremity of evil weather or sickness disable him to end it so speedily as he earnestly intends. If your Majesty be graciously pleased to suspend your resolution till his coming to court, your Majesty may be assured, that he will either propose the means which your Majesty will approve, or if any other course be unalterably determined by your Majesty, at his return, your Majesty's pleasure being signified to the nobility and council, I verily hope it shall be obeyed to the uttermost of their abilities, which I humbly remit to your gracious consideration. And earnestly praying God long to preserve your Majesty's life, health, and prosperity, which assure the accomplishment of all the wishes of your subjects for their perfect wealth and peace, I rest,

Your most sacred Majesty's

most humble, faithful,

and ever bound servant and subject,

MELROS.

Edinburgh, 29th January,

1621.

EARL OF MELROS, SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

THE Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, and I, according to the commandment of your Majesty's letter to us, met with the Lord Archbishop of Saint Andrews, and advised upon the matters mentioned in the letter, and others related by him to us by your Majesty's direction; and agreed, in uniform opinion, that we could noway presume to nominate a commissioner to your Majesty. Your own experience and knowledge of the noblemens sufficiency and dispositions, and your incomparable wisdom, being only able to make the fittest choice; so that we can meddle no farther in that point, but humbly to pray your Majesty, to consider, that the person to be trusted with that weighty charge, must, in the honourable exercise thereof, be forced to be at great expences, and so will need some relief from your royal bounty.

Anent [Concerning] the sum of the contribution, we could proceed no further, but to conclude, that we must all study to extend it to the greatest quantity that the country can bear; and, for that purpose, to prepare all with whom we can have opportunity to confer before the parliament, to yield to the highest rate, and to persuade others to do the like; and to foree-

the best reasons and means, that may induce every estate to a very large contribution, according to our assured good hopes.

We reasoned upon the form of the imposition, and of the manner of payment thereof, not forgetting the large help which may be exacted of the wealthier sort, which heretofore have been free of all taxations, they neither being church-men, landed men, nor burgessees, neither could it be well seen how they might be brought under the necessity of contribution. For removing this doubt, I proponed, that the ordinary taxation, being granted in large quantity, might be imposed upon the estates in the accustomed manner; and an act of parliament obtained, ordaining that the wealthy annual-renters should contribute to the supply of your Majesty's most important and necessary present affairs; for which effect, commission should be given to a selected number, to call and tax them to a reasonable proportion of subsidy, according to their stock and rent; and to summon them, by open proclamation, to compare at a certain day, to give up a true declaration of the sums for which they received annualrent, by indentment, bond, or other security whatsoever; and, if need was, upon denial, to put them to oath, or to prove against them by writ; with certification, that all the sums concealed by them shall be confiscated to your Majesty, whenever they should be discovered; and if the debtor would dilate them, he should be free of the third of his debt, for his pains, he paying to your Majesty the two part thereof, which the lords consented.

to: and if this course receive your Majesty's approbation, it shall be proponed, and carefully prosecuted.

It was thought by us, that your Majesty's discharge of bypast contraventions of the penal statutes will greatly encourage the people, now standing in fear of vexation, by reports of some mens intentions to beg warrants to trouble the subjects by such pursuits, to grant the more willingly to a large taxation; and that much more may be expected, if it shall be allowed to come in at sundry terms, nor [than] if it shall be pressed to be paid all at one diet. [term.]

My Lord of Saint Andrews told me, that your Majesty had directed him, to command me, to send up a warrant for appointing a commissioner, which I send herewith; and that I should also send the frame of a letter to be directed to the estates, which I have likewise obeyed, but with just fear that the prolixity may offend your Majesty; and that more shall be found in it to delete or alter, nor [than] to be allowed; but I shall hope that your Majesty's accustomed grace and bounty to me shall procure my faithful obedience to be accepted for sacrifice: and, thank God, that I have a royal master, excellent above all other in well-doing, speaking, and writing, to pardon, cover, and amend my defects: and, as in France, their king is accounted the first secretary of estate, and has assigned to him (as they term it), *la premiere bourse* of their fees; so I am assured, that when all the best secretaries of the world shall be convened, they will be found inferior to your Majesty in the skill of their own profession; and I

being one of the most incapable, must regrette and excuse my errors, with the misfortune of wanting the happiness of your Majesty's particular directions, and still have recourse to your Majesty's gracious and benign construction, which, with innumerable other benefits and favours, shall make me incessantly to beseech God, to continue his blessings to your Majesty's subjects, by your long and happy life, and ever to comfort and strengthen your royal mind with the prosperous success of your princely enterprizes, and accomplishment of your desires.

Your Majesty's

most humble, faithful,

and eternally bound servant,

MELROS.

Edinburgh, 29th March,

1621.

KING JAMES
TO
THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND,
JAMES R.

**RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS IN GOD, OUR RIGHT
 TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED COUNSELLORS,
 AND RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED COU-
 SINS AND COUNSELLORS, AND OTHERS OUR
 TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED SUBJECTS, COM-
 MISSIONERS FOR THE SMALL BURROWS IN OUR
 PARLIAMENT NOW ASSEMBLED, WE GREET YOU
 HEARTILY WELL.**

Our longer exercise in the school of experience nor
 [than] any Christian prince now living, having teach-
 ed us, that the licentious life of man doth not breed
 more new and dangerous diseases in the body, nor
 [than] his corrupt affections produceth daily new dis-
 orders in the state, which more necessarily require speedy
 cure from the care and wisdom of the prince, nor [than]
 bodily infirmities need the help of faithful and skilful phy-
 sicians. We were thereby possessed with an earnest de-
 sire and resolution, to have this year, in our own per-
 son, kept our parliament in that our kingdom, that so
 we might have rather seen nor [than] heard the desires
 of our loving subjects, and they feel the accustomed
 fruits of our fatherly care of their good. But the com-
 bustions of Christendom (to which many, out of cruel

and malicious intentions, add oil, and few have either such care or grief for quenching thereof as ourself) have forced us to prefer the necessity of procuring the peace of Europe, and safety of the professions of true religion, mercilessly persecuted by greatest powers, to our own weightiest affairs, and most earnest desires; and, nevertheless, lest the progress of disorders, and delay of their redress, might make the disease dangerous, if not desperate, before our being there, (which we undoubtedly intend by God's grace this next year,) we have directed our right trusty and right well beloved cousin and counsellor, the Marquis of Hamilton, as our commissioner, to supply our absence in this present parliament, which our nobility and council, by their several letters, have earnestly requested us to indict this present year; and have commanded him to signify to you, that the chief cause of his employment, is, to give constant, in our name, to the redress of such disorders as ye shall propound, requiring present reformation; and to declare to you our pleasure anent [concerning] the expediting of such acts, as we (out of our natural and wonted zeal to religion and justice) have thought expedient for good order and policy both in the church and estate. We have also directed him to make known to our estates, the present condition, not only of our own affairs, but also of foreign princes and states, and with what incessant sollicitude we have dealt with the ambassadors of neighbour princes and republics resident at our court, to procure free and safe exercise of religion to these that are joined with us in profession of the true gospel, and re-

TO THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND. 83

stitution of their estates, forcibly usurped by their powerful neighbours, and have performed the like offices by our ordinary and extraordinary ambassadors, sent, at our infinite charges, to the most part of the princes and states of Christendom; wherein, albeit conjunction in religion has been our chief respect, yet the distressed estate of our son-in-law, adding an particular interest of nature and honour, has compelled us to bestow excessive sums of money, both for the charges of his maintenance, and of our dearest daughter, and of their many hopeful children, and likewise for the Electrix dowager his mother, since the power of their enemies, having dispossessed them of the greatest part of their patrimony, has forced them, for their safety, to retire to the Low Countries. How extraordinary their burdens are to us, hardly can any man consider; but every man knoweth that it is impossible to bear them, without the large help of faithful subjects well affected to our just causes. It is almost a year since we signified to our nobility and council, the necessity of their supply in this urgent occasion, whose answers, by their letters to be read to you, will express the cause of the delays, and assurance of their affections. We have heard of late, that some, either not well affected to the cause, or ignorant of the true state of affairs, have travelled to possess our people with an opinion, that, since by treaties procured by us, the charges of war are diminished, that there is little need of contribution: but faithful subjects will wisely consider how exorbitant our bypast charges have been, and how excessive our debt contrac-

ted upon that necessity is, and how it daily grows by the numbers of ambassadors sent by us to all princes, and that the debt must either be repaid, or our credit and honour so wounded, as when we shall have most to do, we shall find no such supply as the surety of our subjects and estates may require. Some there are, that dare say, that we, being in peace with our neighbour princes, have no need to furnish charges to the wars of others, whom we take to be no better than traitors and atheists*; for since the war doth in a part concern our son-in-law, and our grand-children, we must disclaim nature, if we shall not partake of that war, if, by our mediation, we shall not procure their peace and restitution of their estates: besides, that religion being assaulted by that war, and the wars in France and the Low Countries, must we not confess, that if they continue and grow, *nostra agitur tunc res paries cum proximus ardet*. Others, more heady, are bold to say, that their contribution would have been more ready, if in time we had embraced the war, who merit no other answer, but *dulce bellum inexpertis, et nullum bellum justum nisi quod necessarium*; and since peace must be the end of war, princes have ever been thought more wise and just who have entertained peace, and prevented, and in time pacified wars, nor [than] such, as after the desolations of that scourge of God's wrath have not thought of peace till destruction of men by sword, pest, and famine, the devastations of towns, churches, and whole countries, the violated chastity of women of all

* Never was the term ATHEIST so oddly applied,

TO THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND. 89

sorts and ages, and the blood of sucking babes, had polluted, desolated, and dispeopled the land of men, goods, and all things necessary for human society, and so disabled those brutish princes, born for the mischief of mankind, longer to prosecute the unbridled and unbounded malice of their avaritious and ambitious minds. The last assault given to the good affections of our subjects, is, the representing of the poverty of that our kingdom, and scarcity of monies, whercof we are sorry, and have directed our commissioner to concur with you in the means of remedy thereof, willing you to consider, that it is not so much the importance of the sums which ye are able to contribute that we respect, as the trial of your affections; and that your straining yourselves to your uttermost abilities, may give example to your neighbours of greater wealth to do the like in their due proportion. When ye shall weigh the necessity of the causes of our desires, the importance of the affairs both for religion and state, and shall remember what obligations of retribution are imposed upon you, by our many graces, favours, and liberalities, not only to the most part of all the subjects of that our kingdom in their particular, but to every state and whole body of the kingdom in general, we are confident, that at this occasion (more necessary than any other that ever occurred in our life) ye will increase your wonted contribution as the state of the affairs requires, and as ye are bound to us, who, for your safety and peace, incline to the counsel given by the oracle to Philip of Macædon, to make wars with money, which is rather

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to prevent and quench wars with great charges, nor [than] unnecessarily maintain it with incomprehensible harms incident to that pest. Many other things, concerning our affairs and your good, are by our direction to be imparted to you by our said commissioner, whom we require you to trust and to respect, as one who being near to our person, and acquainted with our affairs, and good intentions, hath seemed most fit to us for the present charge; and, as by him we shall know your proceedings, we shall remember and reward your duties according to your deservings; which we hope and wish to prove, according to our designs and dealings toward you; and so bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our manner of Theobalds the 13th of July, 1621.

1687
EARL OF MELROS, SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES,

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

NECESSARY duty commands me to give your Majesty advertisement of the proceeding of matters concerning your Majesty's parliament, of this your Majesty's kingdom; and my exercise therein, refusing me leisure to do it orderly, forces me to beg your Majesty's gracious pardon, rather to do it in rude form and stile, nor [than] by curiosity of those, to neglect any points of substance. The marquis of Hamilton, your Majesty's commissioner came to Edinburgh, upon the 18th of this month, and met no sooner some noblemen and barons upon his way, but, after interchanged courtesies, he began to require their assistance in his charge of your Majesty's service. The next day he conferred with the Dean of Winchester, and Archbishop of St. Andrews, of church matters, and others, concerning your royal directions in parliament, and then met with some few of your most trusted officers and counsellors: and lest the rest of the council and nobility should suspect that conclusions were made by a few number, and they neglected, he convened them all upon Saturday, and by their advice, resolved upon the time of fencing the parliament, day of the riding of the estates, and course to be

kept for preventing contentions, trouble or disorders; upon Sunday in the afternoon, and Monday, he continued his dealing with particular men of every estate, and specially the noblemen, whose favour he pressed to conciliate, by hearty conversation and feasting; but, hearing upon Monday afternoon, that a mad minister of Morton, called Simpson, had made a foolish and malicious sermon in the Gray-friars church of this town, upon Sunday in the afternoon, and that Mr. Andrew Duncan, sometime minister of Crail, and, for sundry contempts done to the bishops, now deprived, had given to the clerk of register a supplication to have been presented to the parliament, impugning, in effect, the articles of the assembly of Perth; whom two ministers, the archbishop of St. Andrews and I caused to be apprehended by the captain of the guard; your Majesty's commissioner did presently convene the council, where they were accused, and, upon notoriety of their offences, were presently sent prisoners to the castle of Dunbarton; and, upon knowledge that the commissioners of the Burrows had assembled themselves for affairs concerning their estate, and that some nine or ten ministers had importunately obtained entry and audience of them, and exhorted them not to allow in parliament the articles of Perth, offering to read and deliver to them their supplication and protestation like to that other given by Mr. Andrew Duncan to the clerk of register, your Majesty's commissioner, by advice of the council, ordained a proclamation to be made, declaring, that,

Upon knowledge had of the seditious behaviour of some ministers, who, to the scandal of their profession, having left their flocks and due charge, were come to Edinburgh, to stir sedition, and trouble the course justly intended by your Majesty for the good of the estate and church; therefore they were all commanded to void the town, and return to their charge (except such, as verifying to their ordinarys the lawfulness and necessity of their affairs, should obtain their licence to remain) under the pain of horning and present imprisonment; which being published, hath freed the town and estates of that tumultuous crew. Upon the 25th, the estates being ready to ride to the parliament-house, Langton ingyring [officially presenting] himself to take possession of the office of usher to your Majesty, which neither he nor any of his predecessors had enjoyed in any living man's memory, and being first requested, and thereafter charged, disobeying both, was, for his contempt, sent to the castle of Edinburgh. Immediately thereafter a contention arose between the lords Hay and Keith, for their privileges in keeping and guarding the parliament-house, which being difficultly settled, the estates rode to the tolbooth in great number, and good order; being conveyed, your Majesty's commission was read, and then the archbishop of St. Andrews made an excellent sermon, of the honour and obedience due by subjects to princes, of tribute and custom to be paid to them; and expounded wittily the word *Reddite*, ascribing it to due and necessary payment, and

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not to giving, adducing the examples of Christ's own payment of tribute, and his mother's taking him in his cradle to Jerusalem, where the whole Jews were, by the law of God, commanded yearly to convene and pay tribute. He alledged many examples of the loss and ruin of kingdoms and estates for neglecting to contribute to supply the wars of their princes, and most notably the loss of Constantinople, and the empire of the Orient, applying all to the justice and necessity of your Majesty's present desire, which he amplified by all convenient circumstances. Last, he brought handsomely in the purpose of the church articles; and, amongst other reasons, proponed the acknowledgment contained in the first Confession of Faith made after the Reformation; ratified by act of parliament 1567, acknowledging that church discipline and rites could not be perpetually unchangeable, but were upon good considerations alterable, and so being indifferent; and the articles now introduced being lawful and expedient, needed no other warrant but the judgment of our King so religious, wise, learned, and just, as the world had not seen his equal. After him spake your Majesty's commissioner, of the charge imposed by your Majesty upon him, his sense of his own insufficiency and necessity of the obedience, regretting that he could not worthily relate your royal directions, with such grace as might prove answerable to the expression of your love of this people, which was the only reason of his employment. That the parliament was indicted at the earnest request of the nobility

and council, the just causes of your Majesty's desire of supply notour to the world, not for any ambition upon your part to increase the power of your son-in-law, or his children, with other mens estates. That war being begun by the people of Bohemia, impatient of the heavy yoke imposed upon their persons and consciences, and their subtle and instant introduction of your Majesty's son-in-law to undertake their protection more rashly nor [than] your Majesty's either known or afterwards knowledge allowed; but the progress of the usual accidents of war having brought upon him disadvantages and losses, which, not being remedied, would tend to his eternal ruin and dispersing of your grand-children, your Majesty was forced to contribute great sums for his defence, not of intencion to maintain a continual war; but to avert his utter overthrow, till by your royal care and wisdom ye might by mediation and treaty procure peace and restitution of his patrimony, wherein the charges of your ambassadors, ordinary and extraordinary, sent to the most part of the princes and estates of Christendom were so great, as could not be duly considered by such as were not privy to matters of such consequence, not communicable to the vulgar sort; and while, as your Majesty was in good hope of settling that great war, ye were drawn under new trouble and charges, by the wars of the Valteline, France, and the Low Countries, whereof no settling could be expected but by your Majesty, whom God had endued with so extraordinary wisdom, graces, and authority, that the

Christian world acknowledged you alone for arbiter of their controversies; that the manifest danger of religion in all the parts of Christendom did more nearly touch your religious heart, nor [than] the interest of your children, seeing the world knew, that in the matching of your daughter (matchless for virtue) your Majesty upon consideration of the frailty of man's life, albeit that your dear son then promised that which God hath since performed in him by strength of body, happiness of health, and accomplishment of all princely virtues; yet, desiring that, if God should appoint him to die without issue of his body (which God defend) [forbid] the world might see that your Majesty did not so much affect the honour of more eminent, powerful, and wealthy alliance by her with Papists, who, not seeking money with her, would, as it were, have bribed your Majesty with infinite treasures to have granted to them the honour of your royal alliance, you, out of mere zeal to religion had, as it were, entailed your posterity to the protection of religion, by her marriage with an excellent prince of our profession*. Thereafter he expressed the zeal and forwardness of our neighbour country at full, and specially of the Londoners, who had forbidden feasting, when your Majesty's grand-

* King JAMES had not always entertained such thoughts; for, by his instructions to Sir Michael Balfour at the court of Florence in the 1601, it appears, that he proposed to give the Princess Elizabeth in marriage to the Great Duke's son.

children would have been compelled to fast, if your natural and religious bounty had not royally furnished them all princely charges; and, therefore, exhorted the estates to increase the quantity of their wonted contributions, according to the importance of the present estate of affairs, rather to stir up our neighbours by expression of their affection, nor [than] the value of the sum, assuring them, in your Majesty's name, that if they should at this time behave themselves thankfully and worthily, your Majesty meant not hereafter to trouble them with furnishing more monies. Last, he recommended the affairs of the church, and that they would therein remember the bypast proofs of your excellent knowledge; great care and travels for maintaining and promoting religion; the public testimonies of your admired works, revered by the learnedest of the world; the malice of adversaries pressing to procure your death (which God avert) as the highest of their hopes and desires for prevailing against all the professors of the truth. He roughly inveighed against those who treasonably slandered your Majesty with intention to introduce all English ceremonies, but specially against those who spoke of Papistry or liberty of conscience, assuring them, that if they would obey and confirm the acts already made, your Majesty would never intend any future alteration*. He enlarged those grounds in so good terms, as all the estates acknowledged how well he had profited under the

* It would have been well if this promise had been remembered by the unfortunate successor of King JAMES.

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hand of the best master in the world. The public speeches were concluded by my Lord Chancellor, whose description of the dignity of a parliament, and honour of the particular estates and members thereof, in so high stile, and learned substance, as did exceed the capacity of many of the vulgar auditors. He closed with a pithy exhortation for the contribution, and church affairs. Thereafter the Lords of Articles were chosen with such dexterity, that no man was elected (one only excepted) but these who by a private roll were selected as best affected to your Majesty's service. A proposition was made, containing a novelty anent [concerning] meeting of all the nobility after the articles were concluded, to sit and consider of them before they were ratified by public parliament, which was so dexterously used, as I hope no harm shall ensue. I had almost forgotten, that your Majesty having justly blamed my errors, in the first draught I sent of a letter to have been sent by your Majesty to the estates, and being pleased to declare that you would cause reform it, and send it down, when I perceived that it had not been remembered, and that time would not permit to stay till it might be required and had, I rather took boldness to adventure to present that, whereof I send herewith the copy authorized by warrant entrusted by your Majesty to your commissioner, nor [than] that the parliament should either desert or delay too long. If it please God to make me so happy, as that my conjectural stile be no more offensive to your Majesty, nor [than] it was to the e-

lates, and that your Majesty may be pleased to send me an warrant in writ, pardoning that which I was forced to adventure for the good of your services, I shall humbly thank his Heavenly Majesty, and always beseech him to grant to your Majesty all the blessings that your royal heart, and the hearty affections of your faithful people beg to you at his bountiful hands. And rest,

Your Majesty's humblest,

and most obliged of all

your faithful servants,

MELROS.

Edinburgh, 26th July,

1621.

EARL OF MELROS, SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

WEARINESS, and some pain in my eye, forced me to use my brother's hand in the letters I wrote yesterday of that had then past in matters concerning the parliament. Thierafter the Lords of Articles met, and, after reading your Majesty's letter to the parliament, and the other two which the convention of the nobility and council sent this winter to your Majesty, the taxation was mentioned by your commissioner, with so ample and judicious expressions of your Majesty's infinite charges, furnished to the entertainment of the forces of the princes of the union, very long, and of the army commanded by General Vere; beside, your name at sea, and the charges of your children and grand-childrens maintenance, which enforced undeniable necessity of supply, they had only reason to consider what difference was in the causes and nature of this present action (the event whereof may, in worldly appearance, import the preservation or overthrow of religion in all Europe, and the uphold or perpetual ruin of that most ancient famous and princely estate of the Palatinate) and these of former times. This proposition, strengthened by many reasons pertinently alledged by the Lord Chancellor, Mar, and others, faithfully disposed to the good

of the purpose, after long and modest reasoning, produced an uniform resolution, that a taxation behoved to be granted. The next question being of the quantity, my Lord of Saint Andrews alledged a precedent of King David's ransom, amounting to three hundred thousand merks, or, as others write, an hundred thousand merks; as likewise the sums paid for King James the first his redemption; which, considered, according to the scarcity of monies in that age, and abundance thereof in all the world at this time, might inform us how great a sum was now requisite for the reasons proponed by my Lord Commissioner. Then my Lord of Scrope's opinion being demanded, he roundly told, that he had his honour, estate, and whole fortune of your Majesty, and would bestow them, and his life in your Majesty's service, thinking ten hundred thousand merks a competent sum, whereof he would readily pay his part, and what further your Majesty pleased to command. That sum being thought exorbitant, I answered, that my Lord of Saint Andrews's true examples imported much more, because an hundred thousand merks in King James's days, was an hundred thousand merks weight of silver, whereof every merk weight being eight ounces of silver, would amount at three pound the ounce, as it now gives, to four and twenty hundred thousand pounds. In the end, it was concluded, that where the greatest taxation that ever was before, was four hundred thousand merks, paid in four years, there should now be given four hundred thousand pounds in three years; for it is appointed to be paid at four Mar-

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finmas terms, whereof the first will be Martinmas next, and so be compleat that time three years. The lords thought it more fit that the act should be conceived in these terms, that the pound land holden of your Majesty should pay thirty shillings yearly; and the kirk lands, and teinds, and burrows, the like proportion, which is effect is four hundred thousand pounds, nor [than] that the expression of the sum should inform the world of the smallness of our means when they are racked to extremity.

The next article was ancient [concerning] the taxations of annualrents, wherein the novelty bred difficulty, and the interest of the commissioners of burrows, and others, strict opposition; but, because I knew much of their estate, and of the nature of that course, which myself, amongst others, have long exercised with benefit, I pressed to detect the secret of their pretents; and, after great altercation, rather than reasoning, it was concluded, that all annualrents should pay tax without immunity of any estate or person. The means of trial, quantity, and terms of payment, rest to be considered. The good success of what has past, makes us as hope for the like in that which rests concerning the church articles. I pray God I may have speedy occasion to send your Majesty contented advertisement thereof: and that he may be pleased to bless and long preserve your sacred person, and prosper your affairs, I rest,

Your Majesty's most humble, faithful,
and bound servant and subject,

Edm. 7th July, 1611. MELROS.

EARL OF MELROS, SECRETARY OF STATE.

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

My letters of the 26th and 27th of July have informed your Majesty of things done at that time in parliament. Thereafter the church articles were allowed by the Lords of Articles with good uniformity. Since that time there has not arisen any great controversy in the house for matters of moment: the articles proposed either being found profitable for the country, or, if they concerned particular parties, they were lawfully concluded after hearing of the parties interested; only the taxation of the annual rents has been much impugned by the burgesses, and some small barons, upon pretext of the harm which they may suffer in their credit, if their debts shall be unnecessarily discovered; who have been answered with clear and just reasons; but they still persist in their opposition, albeit with more modesty than others, who not being of the articles, and having craved permission to convene to prepare motions to be proponed to the articles, have converted the favour, obtained upon that specious pretext, to a meeting of noblemen and barons, who are reported to have dealt so passionately against the confirmation of the church articles, and the taxation of annual rents, that your Majesty's commissioner was forced to

charge the abused liberty of their assembling; and, since that time, has been forced to take so continual travel to dissolve their combination, and, by the assistance of all his friends, duly affected to your Majesty's service, to convert them to their duty, as has permitted small time of rest or sleep to him. He inclined to have caused punish some of the most avowedly malicious; But, the error being almost popular, he was counselled to forbear offensive rigour, and to study to calm and reclaim them by more mild means; and is in hope to prevail so with a number of them, that they shall either stay and concur in your Majesty's service, or absent themselves, and so do no harm. The rest, who shall be found irrecoverably malicious, will be made known to your Majesty, who may and can best judge of their merits. I can promise no further as yet, but good hope, with assurance of more pains, patience, and wisdom in your Majesty's commissioner, faithfully assisted by some of your Majesty's servants, nor [than] could have been believed. God, who has ever directed your Majesty's just intentions to wished end, will overcome the malice of this opposition to your Majesty's contentment; which I pray his Heavenly Majesty long to grant in all your royal affairs. And rest,

Your Majesty's most humble,

and bound servant,

MELROS.

Edinburgh, 20 August,

1621.

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EARL OF MELROS, SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO
KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

HAVING written my other letter upon the second of August in the morning, this is to render your Majesty account of what is since syne [since that time] done in articles. That day your Commissioner, at five a'clock in the morning, began his consultation with the Archbishop of Saint Andrews, Lord Carnegie, Clerk of Register, Dean of Winchester, and me, by what friends means he might either reconquer the opposites who had vote in parliament, or persuaide or compel them by lawful order to be absent; and, according to our joint opinions, put all his friepds to work where their credit might best prevail; and then entered to the articles at ten a'clock; and remaining till eight at night, dispatch-ed so many affairs, just of themselves, and gracious to the people, as served for powerful inducements to di-vers of each estate to favour his desires for your Maje-ssty's service. We are in good hopes to obtain the church articles ratified with the ordinary taxation; our greatest doubt is of the taxation of annualrents, which many abhor, as a novelty, and a discovery of their misery, and overthrow of their credit. For pro-venting of which disturbance, upon the second, at night, a meeting of the articles was appointed to be upon the

third, at seven in the morning, to consider of the best expedient; inclining rather to dispense with the extremity, that thereby we may obtain a preparative of an aid wanting all preceding example, and a diversion of opposition to the church articles (which we think more important nor [than] the odds of a trifle of that subsidy) nor [than] by insisting upon a very small difference, in a money matter, to trouble or overthrow a better business. What shall be resolved shall be speedily subjoined to these lines.

Since the writing of what precedes, the Lords of Articles have this morning met and peaceably concluded, extreme diligence will be used to set all men right. The event must be remitted to God, in whose assistance we confide, and beseech him to bless this business, and all your royal desires. And rest,

Your Majesty's

most humble, faithful,

and obedient subject and servant,

MELROS.

Your Majesty's Commissioner expects that his diligence in well-doing will excuse his not writing, which is always natural to him, and now necessary.

Edinburgh, 3d August, 1621.

EARL OF MELROS, SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

YOUR Majesty's parliament of this your kingdom is this afternoon happily concluded. The church articles had opposition; but the well affected prevailed by seven and twenty votes; albeit we were exceedingly disappointed by the treachery of some small burrows, who violated their promises, and were recompensed by your Commissioner's refusing to authorize their acts and innovations.

In the act of the taxation, at first, there layed [appeared] some danger, by the voices of lords who granted the ordinary taxation, and refused the taxation of annuities; but my Lord Commissioner pressing them to give answer directly, that they either granted or refused the act of taxation, since it was only one act, the rest became ashamed to refuse; so as the opposites to that act were scarce ten, as the Clerk of Register's inclosed ticket will testify.

Other laws and private acts past without contradiction. The conclusion was by a speech of your Majesty's Commissioner, renewing the assurances of your Majesty's constant favour to this nation; your zeal to the defence of pure religion; your earnest desire to relieve your people of burdens; to protect them from violence;

to introduce all examples and effects of piety and justice amongst them; to increase trade and commerce; and to exempt them from the grief of the pains of by-past transgressions of statutes imposing pecunial pains; which being a most acceptable farewell to the whole estates, was met with the hearty wishes of all the people for your Majesty's long and prosperous life.

I must not forget the Commissioner's sharp censure of such as had abused the toleration of private meetings of the estates, with advertisement, that the like would not hereafter be suffered. The particular account will be more amply given by larger letters, and by the Dean of Winchester and Lord of Scoone, who, so soon as the articles for the church and taxation were ended, they went to their horse, and will relate all particulars, and every man's behaviour. I may truly affirm theirs to have been exceeding faithful and forward, and that your Majesty's Commissioner, by his observing your excellent instructions, has effected the wishes of your faithful servants, and overcome the busy malice and subtilty of the adversaries, which I must assign to the happiness of your royal courses, so well grounded upon wisdom and justice, as they cannot want success. I have thought it would be more agreeable to your Majesty to know this truth abruptly; nor [than] an more exact report more slowly. And, praying for the like prosperity in all your royal affairs, I rest,

Your Majesty's most humble,

and most obedient subject and servant,
Edin. 4th Aug. 1621. MELROS.

NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST
ANTONIO DE DOMINIS, ARCHBISHOP OF
SPALATO, AFTER HIS DEATH. *

THE late Archbishop of Spalato being dead, his body was put into a coffin, and that into another bigger coffin well pitched, and was carried (*in deposito*) into the convent of the holy apostles, and committed into the hands of those reverend fathers, until such time as the cause of the said Archbishop was ended, to the end, that, according to the sentence, it might be disposed of, as in justice should be thought fit. And, in this manner, the sentence being given, and ready to be put in execution, the said body was taken away in the night the twentieth of this present from the place where it was deposited, being first legally reviewed, and was carried into the church of Minerva, and set upon a table in an a-

* There are several MS. papers concerning Antonio de Dominis to be found in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh; the substance of them shall be here subjoined.

In a Latin letter to CYRILL, Patriarch of Alexandria, he observes, that many of the Western churches, become corrupt through ease and luxury, now groaned under Papal thralldom; that he himself, born, educated, and dignified under the Roman rod, [*sub virga Romana*] had long experienced the antient Egyptian darkness in the Western Aegypt, under that cruel Pharaoh: that at length he was constrained to take refuge in the land of Goshen, where all is light: that this he effected, with the assistance of Heaven, having arrived almost a year ago in England. There he could safely and freely contend for the

minient place, with his picture, and a bag of books, set forth in print by him, where it stood all that night, and the next morning. At the hour appointed, the cardinals of the high inquisition, being come together, with many others, to the number of seventeen or thereabout, (after they had committed to the secular power a certain man of Milan, who, under a counterfeit name, and habit of a Grecian, having not taken orders, presumed to say mass in the holy house of Loreto, and in other places, who the twenty-third of this present was hanged, and afterwards burned) the sentence of the said Archbishop was read in form following. First was rehearsed the manner of his running away; his going into England; the works made by him in word, writing, and print; and how, acknowledging his error, he made supplication unto the Pope, that he would willingly return to the bosom of the holy church, and abjure all and every heresy, if he might be assured of his pardon. He

truth; for there the cause of Christ triumphed under the protection of a most religious and wise monarch, the true defender of the ancient Catholic faith.

He sends CYRILL his first work, *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, as a testimony of his earnest desire of holding communion with the Greek church. He says, that in this work he has defended the Eastern churches, especially that of Constantinople, and vindicated them from the calumnies of the Romanists; that he had asserted all the ancient rights of the patriarchs; deprived the bishop of Rome of his absolute primacy, and reduced him to his proper rank; that he hoped CYRILL would find in this work an antidote against the weapons of the Jesuits. He then entreats him to think seriously of an union of the

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came to Rome, performed all that, obtained grace and pardon of the holy father, where he lived a long time; but, because his conversion was feigned, and not sincere and from his heart, he began, in familiar discourse, to break forth into most grievous heresies, and to maintain whatsoever he said to be true. The inquisition was informed thereof; and it appeareth by the proceeding against him, that he held the heresies following:

1. That the Council of Trent hath declared many things to be articles of faith which are not.
2. That all the sects of heretics might have been reduced to one church, if the church of Rome would have yielded in some of those things, which, in process of time, it determined to be *de fide*, instancing in particular the article of transubstantiation.
3. That there might union be made between the church of Rome and the Protestant heretics, agreeing together in the fundamental points.

Greek churches under his care with the most flourishing church of England; for, says he, such an union being once made, we shall easily prevail over Pharaoh, or rather over Antichrist, and remove his tyranny from the church of our Lord. He concludes, with exhorting CYRILL to communicate whatever difficulties he might have as to this union, either to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or to him, the writer, and to exert his utmost efforts for *extinguishing a schism so laudate*.

What answer was returned to this letter does not appear; but there is a letter of compliment from CYRILL to Archbishop Abbot, dated 16th July, wherein much is said in commendation of the church of England, and of *Justissimus Jacobus*, as CYRILL terms the King.

4. That it may be disputed whether some articles and many things, determined to be *de fide* in the Council of Trent, were sufficiently discussed and defined.

5. That whosoever holds and believes the fundamental articles, although he hold not the other, is not separated from the church, but is united with it in faith, because only the fundamental and essential articles are necessary to salvation, the others are disputable.

6. That what the Council of Trent hath defined to be *de fide* in matter of justification, predestination, grace, and the sacraments, that they confer grace, *ex opere operato*, doth not appertain unto faith.

7. That he was ready to maintain, even with his life, that all men might *abundare in sensu suo*, so that they agreed *in essentialibus fidei*.

8. That the supremacy of the bishop of Rome is not *de jure divino*, or at least that it may be disputed whether it is or is not, looking for a definition thereof.

From a paper intituled, "Manifesto the Archbishop of Spalato," it appears that he was invited and encouraged in the name of the Pope and of the King of Spain to leave England.

The following particulars are collected from a letter written by him, upon his return to Rome, to one of his nephews. Having obtained a passport from King JAMES, by the good offices of the Imperial minister, he left London. The custom-house officers seized his silver plate, and part of his money; but the King ordered restitution to be made. On payment of 1000 crowns, the Archbishop got back his silver-plate; but his money, to the value of 2500 crowns, he never recovered.

On his arrival at Brussels, he was entertained by the Pope's Nuncio, in consequence of orders from his Holiness.

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9. That the anathemas of the Council of Trent are no definitions of articles of faith.

10. That the heretics were not condemned in the Council of Trent, because they taught heresies, but only because they accused the church of Rome of heresy.

11. That to deny transubstantiation, purgatory, adoration of the images of saints, is not to deny things which appertain to the substance of faith, which, because Protestants have the true faith, is the true church.

12. That the church of Rome and the church of England are one and the same church, and both the one and the other catholic and orthodox.

13. That it is not *de fide*, that the general council, together with the Pope, is judge of controversies of faith.

14. That the bond of matrimony, ratified and consummated, may be dissolved by adultery of one of the parties.

ness, and received by him into the bosom of the church.

After a residence of some months in the Low Countries, he set out for Italy. His train in horses, coaches, and attendants, was magnificent; and the foolish old Archbishop describes it with all the minuteness and exultation which might have been expected from some low-born girl, newly put in possession of titles and equipage.

In his journey through the dominions of different Roman Catholic princes he was treated with much respect; and, on his arrival in the Papal territories, with distinguished marks of honour, *passando sempre, as he says himself, con la mia famiglia onorata e cavalli che facevano spavento etiam i grandi.*

At Rome he was lodged near the residence of the Pope, had

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15. That the bond of matrimony may be dissolved, even for other causes besides adultery.

16. That a temporal prince may for a reasonable cause decree, that the bond of matrimony, ratified and consummated, may be dissolved.

There were also other articles, but they are all contained in these.

These false and heretical propositions being read, it was declared how that the kindred of the said Archbishop, and whosoever else would come to make defence in the cause of the said Archbishop, were summoned to appear, and that some made their appearance within the time limited, who seeing the proceeding, and the said Archbishop's own confessions, did renounce, and would meddle no further; whereupon the said inquisitors proceeded to judgment, which was to declare him unworthy of the grace of the Holy Apostolic See; to deprive him of all honourable degree, benefice and dig-

nity maintenance allowed for himself and his domestics, and ban of the coaches of the Cardinal nephew constantly at his disposal. He adds, that he was well-looked upon, beloved, and respected by all.

The next account of him is from a place, from whose house he is said to return;—from the prison of the Inquisition. There he seems to have had the cruel task imposed upon him, of confuting his own works, “Il Padre Commissario del saper officio,” says he, “m'aviso d'ordine, come disse, di S. Santa ch'io portassi la verità et efficaci soluzioni, che dovessero soddisfare à pietà deo e gli ecclesi. Adunque vedevano, ch'io diceva il vero, che molti di questi argomenti non erano dagli scrittori Cattolici à bastanza suffragati, se bene erano solubili, et io, li scioglieva tutti con

nity; to confiscate all his goods, and to put him over to the secular power; which then was done; that his picture, and the books made by him, should be burned.

This said sentence being read, the aforesaid coffin, picture, and books, were committed to the Governor of Rome, who was then present, and desired that the body might be again viewed and acknowledged; which was done; whereupon orders were presently given by the said Governor, that the body, together with those other things, should be carried into the place called Campo di Fiore, to be there burned. But, because they could not find any that would carry it into the said place, the serjeants took certain porters, whom they bound, and led them, being so bound, to take up the said body, picture, and books, which they carried into Campo di Fiore, where they were straightway burned.

Now, because the said Archbishop, in the end of his life, shewed himself penitent for the heresies which he

"l'aiuto di Dio. E ne ho già dato saggio nel primo mio libro
"delle **RESTRATTAZIONI** già apparecchiato e mostrato, nel
"quale scioglio il grande argomento della equalità tra gli aposto-
"lici tutti, non mai sin'ora à bastanza sciolto da alcuno scrite-
"tore Catolico, e così farò de gli altri: perche se ben è vero,
"che molti argomenti miei non sono stati sciolti, non perciò lo
"professo, che siano insolubili, ch'io nelle **RESTRATTAZIONI**
"m'offerisco di sciogli tutti."

It appears, however, from the narrative of the Archbishop's sentence, that neither his learned representations, nor his professions of orthodoxy, could satisfy the reverend fathers of the Inquisition.

Too much, perhaps, has been said concerning a person

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had again held after abjuration, and asked pardon for them, he was admitted to the holy sacraments; but, because he was relapsed, he was for that reason committed to the secular power; which is all that happened in this action.

whose fame greatly exceeded his literary and controversial merit. From his history, men may be apt to conclude, that the importation of proselytes from the Romish church is no very beneficial trade; and that to confer distinguished favours, and heap preferments on one whose sincerity is not well-tried, is a measure neither just nor politic.

EARL OF MELROS, SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

THE letter written by James Douglas, by your Majesty's direction, to the Lord Chancellor and me, advertising us of his Highness's sudden journey to Spain, being sent by my Lord Chancellor to me, I no sooner understood thereby your royal pleasure, that sinister rumours of that unexpected resolution might be suppressed, and as little speech of it dispersed as could be; but, foreseeing that sermons were to be made the next day in all the churches of the town, I presently sent for Mr. William Struthers, and directed him to warn all his colleagues to forbear all mention of that matter, till, by better occasion of knowledge of your Majesty's will, they might understand how to behave themselves dutifully in a purpose of such moment. And, incontinent thereafter, I dispatched letters to the Archbishops to take the like order with the ministers of their provinces, which was all, that, in a case so much perplexing my mind, I could conceive to be most fit to effect your Majesty's pleasure; albeit, I fear it shall not work so fully as I could wish, because the abuse of the posts, of whose slowness I have many times complained, has, in this occasion, answered my apprehension. For that letter sent to us, being di-

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rected from New-market, by packet, for life, the 21st of February, at eight at night, came not to me till the first of March, at six at night. The information of his Highness's journey being known here two days sooner, as well by letters from London, as by relation of such as came from London to this town by sea. By which means the rumour being so dispersed, nothing now resteth, but to make the best constructions that may be thought of, till we shall know your Majesty's particular directions, which I humbly desire may be with diligence. And, in the mean time, I shall add to my incessant prayers, for your Majesty's long and constant prosperity, my faithful and hearty petitions to God, that his Highness's journey, fraughted with our fears for the great travel and manifold dangers incident to that passage and return, may tend to his honour and safety; and your Majesty's contentment; and shall till my death remain,

Your sacred Majesty's

most humble, faithful,

and bound subject and servant,

MELROS.

Edinburgh, 3d March,

1623.

EARL OF BRISTOL

TO

KING JAMES.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I MUST confess, I am so much transported, first with admiration, then with joy, of the safe arrival of the Prince and my Lord Marquis of Buckingham, that I know I shall have need to begin this letter with an apology for a distracted dispatch. But I conceive the good news which it will carry in the front, that both the Prince and my Lord Marquis are safe and well, and were never merrier in their lives, will excuse all defects.

Upon Friday, which was the 7th of this month, about eight of the clock at night, the Prince and my Lord of Buckingham, without any other company but their postilion, arrived at my house, where my Lord Marquis meeting at the door with Henry Jermin, a son of Sir Thomas Jermin's, told him that his name was Smith, and that he had met my servant Gressly by the way, who had fallen into thieves hands, by whom he had been very ill used; and had all his letters taken away; that he had promised to come and tell me of it; but excused his coming up to see me; for that he said he had got a fall, and hurt one of his legs, so that he could not come up stairs, but with great pain. Whilst H. Jermin was making this relation unto me, Sim,

Digby went to see who it was, and knew my Lord of Buckingham, but dissembled it so well, that before I could come to him, he had got him up to his chamber, and went presently down to the Prince (who stood all this while in the street with his postilion) and brought him likewise so handsomely up to his chamber, that there I found them both together, and we carried the business so dextrously, that that night they were undiscovered by any, till the next morning, by the coming of Mr. Secretary Cottington and Endimion Porter, the secret was revealed, for as much as concerned my Lord of Buckingham: and that morning I sent word unto the Conde of Gondemar, that my Lord of Buckingham was come, who presently apprehended, that the Prince was not far off, and came home to my house to visit my Lord Marquis, of whose being here the Conde of Olivares having likewise gotten notice, sent to desire leave to come and visit him, but my Lord of Buckingham very earnestly excusing it, about four of the clock in the afternoon the Conde sent a coach for him, wherein went only my Lord Marquis, the Conde of Gondemar, Sir Walter Aston, and myself, by a private way into the Park, where we found the Conde of Olivares expecting us, and there he sat in the coach with my Lord of Buckingham, and entertained him almost an hour and a half, within which time there passed so much expression of joy, and so great a declaration of a grateful acceptation of this action, as I dare confidently say unto your Majesty, that whatsoever I have formerly written of their professions, hath been by many degrees

exceeded, as I doubt not but your Majesty will receive from my Lord of Buckingham's pen. Then the Conde had us up by a back way into the King's private rooms, where my Lord Marquis had audience of the King, who received my Lord with so much alacrity and freeness, that I never saw the Spanish gravity laid aside before, nor any man more overtaken with joy than the King was; for he secretly understood of the Prince's being here. I shall only in this particular say thus much, (leaving the rest unto my Lord) that they then parted, the King much satisfied with my Lord, and he infinitely admiring the young King. Afterwards the Conde of Olivares desired leave of the King, that he might come along with us, and kiss the Prince his hands, (as he did) and there to the Prince himself made the same professions he had unto my Lord Marquis of Buckingham, and would by no means cover himself before the Prince, but made so great expressions of respect and the esteem which both the King and his ministers held themselves obliged to make of the honour which they had received by this his coming, that I presume his Highness remained very much contented and satisfied therewith; and though I must confess, ingenuously, that if your Majesty had been pleased to ask my advice concerning the Prince his coming in this manner, I should rather have dissuaded than given any such counsel, especially before the coming of the dispensation: yet, since it hath pleased God, that he is so safely arrived, and that by these good beginnings, there are so great hopes of good success, I cannot but account it a happiness, and

shall, by God's assistance, contribute faithfully and industriously all that shall be in me, for the bringing of this great work unto perfection, with as much speed as may be. That very night my Lord Marquis having intimated the great desire the Prince had as soon as might be to see his mistress, they acquainted the King therewith, who was so forward therein, that notwithstanding that the next day was Sunday, and in Lent, yet he dispensed with his gravity, so far as to go in a coach abroad, to a place called the Prado, which is a hole without the town, where men do take the air, with his sister with him, and all the court, where the Prince was to stand disguised in a coach to see them. The Prince had with him in the coach my Lord Marquis, the Conde of Gondemar, Sir Walter Aston, myself, and Endimion Porter, and we were guided by the Conde of Gondemar, who brought the Prince to such a part where the King was to pass by; and so we were removed three several times, that the Prince had a full sight of them all. As the King was going homewards, the Conde of Olivares leapt out of the coach he was in, and came running into the Prince his coach to wait on him, and so gave three or four turns in the coach, and then attended him into my house, where he told the Prince, that the King, his master, had not patience to abstain longer from seeing him, and acknowledging with his own mouth the great honour which by this his coming he had done him, and desired that he might come that night home to the Prince. But thereunto his Highness would by no means condescend, but said he would ra-

TO KING JAMES.

ther go to the palace privately to see the King. But both of these courtes being in courtesy refused on the one part and the other, it was in the end resolved, that late in the night they should meet in the Prado. And because it was night, the Conde of Olivares said, merrily, that his master must come equally accompanied; and that the Prince being like to bring with him two ambassadors and his Secretary, he would take away my Lord of Buckingham and Porter for interpreter with him; and that they should come as Spaniards with the King; with this company only the King came to the Prado; with the Prince went the Conde of Gondemar, Sir Walter Aston, myself, and Mr. Cottington; when we came there, we found the King, who presently lighted out of his coach, and met the Prince, and then they saluted one another with as much courtesy as was possible; and they presently entered into the King's coach alone, where I served as interpreter betwixt them; and, after much striving in courtesy, who should give the place, which the King constrained the Prince to take, I can assure your Majesty, that greater professions or acknowledgments could not proceed from a Prince than were made unto his Highness by the King, as I doubt not but from his Highness your Majesty will understand. Having spent half an hour, or thereabouts, in discourse, the King would needs bring the Prince to his coach on foot, which the Prince would not permit, but could not hinder him from going more than half way. And this is the account which I can give your Majesty of what hath passed till after twelve of the clock in the night upon

1730 EARL OF BRISTOL TO KING JAMES.

Sunday the ninth of March, when, God be thanked, both the Prince and my Lord Marquis were very merry, and in perfect health. And I humbly beseech your Majesty to pardon me, that I have so long deferred the dispatching of a post to advertise you of the Prince his safe arrival, which I would have done at the very instant, but that both his Highness and my Lord Marquis were not pleased that I should send away any body till they had somewhat to write. But hereafter, God willing, I will never let many days pass together, without giving your Majesty an account of the Prince his health, and of the further progress of these so comfortable and good beginnings.

I will conclude with telling your Majesty only this, that for the success it is in the hands of God; and I am glad that I was kept ignorant of the course that hath been taken; for that I should as much as I might directly have protested against it. But if it shall please God, that things do end as happily as they have begun hopefully, I shall think that God hath therein had his particular working much beyond any human prudence, and so wishing unto your Majesty all happiness, I most humbly recommend you to the holy protection of God. And rest,

Your Majesty's most humble,

and most faithful subject and servant,

BRISTOL.

Madrid, the 10th of March,

1622. St. Vct.

EARL OF CARLILE

TO

KING JAMES.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCEL. MAJESTY,

IT will not be displeasing to your Majesty, if I repeat again the same thing, which I pray God may be the *refrein* of all my letters; and that is, that as his Highness was never in more perfect health, so his carriage to the singular admiration of this court and people; and I am confident, that when it shall please God to restore him again into England, he will declare to have made so great good use of the experience of this journey, as shall give no less cause of rejoicing to them that were most tenderly affected, than they shewed to have before of apprehension. In the mean time, I dare boldly assure your Majesty, that his well-grounded piety and knowledge of the religion wherein he was bred, is infinitely confirmed and corroborated by the spectacles which he hath seen of their devotions here. And your Majesty's most excellent servant, my Lord Admiral, doth carry himself with such nobleness, wisdom, and vigilance in your Majesty's service, as his virtues do illustrate your Majesty's glory and wisdom, in making choice of so worthy an object of your favour*.

* Wretched, indeed, is the condition of princes, when their greatest and most inexcusable weaknesses are not only justified but applauded.

213 EARL OF CARLILE TO KING JAMES.

And now I will cast myself, in all humble reverence, at your Majesty's feet, to kiss your royal hands, in acknowledgment of your gracious favours to my son and myself since my departure. I most humbly beseech your Majesty to believe that you have sowed in a fruitful soil, which shall render you a plentiful harvest of reverence, humility, loyalty, and love, which shall last as long as we live. I am, and so will die,

Your Majesty's most humble,

most obedient,

and most obliged creature,

subject and servant,

CARLILE.

Madrid, the 5th of April,

1623.

SECRETARY COTTINGTON

TO

KING JAMES.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

You do so many ways understand all that passeth here, as nothing is left for this your Majesty's poor, humble, and faithful servant to tell you; and yet I may peradventure light upon some passages which others have not.

This King's love to the Prince, my master, seems every day to increase; he is continually with him, and says often, that he will one day follow him to London; and this morning he said, that he desired nothing so much as to see your Majesty. The little Cardinal Don Ferdinando is strangely enamoured of the Prince, and his Highness with the Cardinal, so as they have much ado to keep the Cardinal from him any time of the day.

I was interpreter for my Lord Marquis when he spoke with the Infanta Dona Maria. She inquired for your Majesty's health before she would hear any thing else. But when my Lord came to speak of the Prince, she blushed extremely; and his Highness hath since spoken with her himself (having often seen her) and likes her so well, as without all doubt she will be with child before she get into England, though they

make never so much haste. Others will tell your Majesty the good news we have from Rome, and more particularly you will understand it (and all) by my Lord of Carlile's relation; for the Prince is resolved to send him instantly to your Majesty; and it is not here amiss to tell you, that my Lord of Carlile is much in love with this court, and with this people, amongst whom is so general a rejoicing for the Prince his being here, as cannot well be expressed.----Every day hath new entertainments and sport. But nothing hath so much joyed our heart as the good news of your Majesty's health, without which all would be sadness and affliction. My Lord Marquis often drinks your Majesty's health, with so much contentment to speak of you, and to remember you, as the tears fall from his eyes, for which I am his slave, and do heartily pray for him, and serve him with all the poor means I have.

No hour passeth in which I do not remember how much I am bound to spend my life in doing your Majesty the least service in the world; and God Almighty knows that I desire nothing more than an occasion for it; and the advertisement which is given me of your Majesty's most gracious favour and care towards my poor wife, puts yet a greater obligation on me, if it were possible: and here I most humbly beseech your Majesty to continue that comfort to that poor desolate woman, with whom I remained only four days, and came this journey, without telling her whither I went, notwithstanding I love her as much as a man can love a

TO KING JAMES.

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woman. I hear she is extremely afflicted; and so it appears by her letters.

Befeeching the Almighty God ever to bless and prosper your Majesty, I rest,

Your Majesty's

most humble servant,

FRA. COTTINGTON,

Madrid the 8th of April,

1623, Stylo Vet.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES.*

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I SHALL make you wonder at a resolution I have taken never to enquire more after your health; you can bear the witness, that I have never given credit to those that undertake to have the philosopher's stone, especially when they become takers themselves, as my devil hath now proved himself; if he blow as profitably with all the world besides as he hath done with me, he will have little need of the philosopher's stone; yet, if all be true he hath assured to me, I shall think my four hundred pound † well bestowed: I confess, so long as he concealed the means he wrought by, I despised all he said; but when he told me, that which he hath given your Sovereignty, to preserve you from all sickness ever hereafter, was extracted out of a t---, I admired the fellow; and for these reasons, that, being a stranger to you, yet he had found out the kind you are come of, and your natural affections and appetite, and so, like a skilful man, hath given you natural physic;

* From a multitude of the Duke's letters to King JAMES, the following are selected as the most curious and characteristic. Their general address is, *To the best of masters.*

† Is there not an act of parliament which determines that it should be POUNDS?

which is the only means to preserve the radical humour. And thus I conclude, my sow * is healthful, my devil's lucky, myself is happy, and needs no more than your blessing, which is my true philosopher's stone, upon which I build as on a rock.

Your Majesty's

most humble slave and dog,

STINIE.

Here is a gentleman called Sir FRANCIS LEAKE, who hath likewise a philosopher's stone; 'tis worth but eight thousand; he will give it me, if you will make him a baron; I will, if you command not the contrary, have his patent ready for you to sign, when I come down; he is of good religion, well born, and hath a good estate. I pray you burn this letter.

* By this delicate appellation, the Duke probably meant his wife.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I HAVE sent this mettled post to be an eye-witness of your second day's hunting, if want of sleep will give him leave, having undertaken to ride all night, to hunt with you all day, and be with me before supper back again, so that weariness do not prevent him; I hear you have got a good stomach since your being there; but I fear your liberality doth not give you leave to eat a good bit, being well acquainted with that old custom of yours of ever giving away the best. We both have fed of nothing else; and though they have all proved fat and tender, yet not being eaten at your sonfy * lucky table, they wanted that sauce which makes all savoury. Let this bearer bring me news of your health and mirth; and then I crave no more but your blessing for

Your Majesty's

most humble slave and dog,

STINIE.

* The Scottish word *sonfy*; answers precisely to the modern English word *jolly*.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

T O

KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

THOUGH I have received three or four letters from you since I wrote last, yet, as Tom Badger says, I am not behind-hand with you; for I have made a hundred answers to them in my mind; yet none that could satisfy my mind; for kinder letters never servant received from master; and for so great a king to descend so low, as to his humblest slave and servant, to communicate himself in a style of such good-fellowship, with expressions of more care than servants have of masters, than physicians have of their patients, (which hath largely appeared to me in sickness and in health) of more tenderness than fathers have of children, of more friendship than between equals, of more affection than between lovers of the best kind, man and wife, what can I return! nothing but silence; for if I speak, I must be sawcy, and say this, or short of what is due, my purveyor, my good fellow, my physician, my maker, my friend, my father, my all, I heartily and humbly thank you for all you do, and all I have. Judge what unequal language this is in itself, but especially considering the thing that must speak it, and the person to whom it must be spoken. Now, tell me whether I have not done discreetly, to be silent all this while; 'tis time I should

be so again, or else commit a fault in wearying him,
 that never wearies to do me good. Then thus I'll end.
 I begin my journey to-morrow. I shall have the prince
 to wait of. We shall ly at Theobalds. The one will
 hunt hinds and does, the other survey the trees,
 walks, ponds, and deer. The next day after lay our-
 selves at your feet, there crave your blessing; then give
 an account of Theobalds's park to the best of men,
 though not of the kind of man, yet made by man, more
 than man, like a man, both artificial man, and my most
 natural Sovereign, who, by innumerable favours, hath
 made me,

Your Majesty's

both humble slave and dog.

STINIE.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

YESTERDAY we got hither so early, that I had time to see over a good part of my works here. This afternoon I will see the rest. I protest to God, the chiefest pleasure I have in them, is, that I hope they will please you, and that they have all come by and from you. I am now going to give my redeemer thanks for my maker. The afternoon I will spend in viewing the rest. To-morrow my *mother and wife* * threaten to be early up, being of my mind impatient to be with you, we shall have need of a coach of yours or BABIE CHARLES, to make the way short. I could write to the equeries to send them to Thurlo, seven miles on this side New-market; but I will be beholden to none but my kind master and purveyor, who never failed me when I had need; therefore bestir thee, and [two words illegible] duty. I will give no thanks for nothing till I may do it on my knees; so I crave your blessing, as

Your Majesty's

most humble slave and dog,

STINIE.

* The Duke uses, in a shorter phrase, the figure of *pars pro toto*, well known in vulgar rhetoric.

DUNE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I HAVE sent Watt Montague this morning into France with the copy of these things you resolved of with the French ambassador, that our ambassadors may no more complain for want of timely advertisements. The Spanish agent will be with me before I can have well ended this letter. Gondemar's man was with me this morning. The discourse I had with him, I am sure will not only be pleasing to you, but make you laugh; the most part of the morning I spent with the French ambassador, and yet could not make an end; wherefore he hath earnestly entreated me to stay this day in town, as likewise to see that dispatch he will send into France: he makes no question of an answer from thence answerable to your heart's desire: I confess I believe it, and the rather because I know they dare do no otherwise; and I am sure you now begin to laugh in your sleeve to see yourself so courted of all sides, and that all their actions turn so to your advantage*. Dear Dad, since I cannot come to-night, let this hasty letter give thanks for the true, favourable, and most affectionate interpretation of my staying here; and God never relieve me

* The common language of shallow statesmen to credulous and ignorant kings.

when I have most need of it, if it be not a separating of myself when I am from you; and in lieu of having comfort and my heart ease by you, to serve you, I give myself nothing but trouble and vexation. To-morrow, without fail, I will wait of you, and, if it be possible, bring *my mother and wife* with me. In the mean time, for much take a little, which is my humble thanks, for not only cloathing my out-side, but filling my in, and with such precious bits, as was only fit for you, but will prosper the better when you aid this. I humbly crave your blessing, as

Your Majesty's

most humble slave and dog.

STINIE,

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

As necessity enforces me, instead of repairing to you, according to your command, and my promise, to go many miles from you another way, and consequently from myself, all my perfect joys and pleasures chiefly, nay solely, consisting in attending your person; so methinks duty and good manners commands me, on the other part, to give you an account under my own hand, though it be yet something unsteady and weak. But, before I give the reasons of the change of my former resolution, there is a thing not much in exercise now in this world, called Thankfulness, that calls so fast and earnestly upon me, that I must first, though I have already done it by the assistance of a young gentleman, called BABIE CHARLES, whom you likewise, by your good offices, made my friend, who, without doubt, hath already perfectlier made my thanks than I shall myself, yet, having the pen in my hand, I must needs tell you what I observe in your late absent and public favour, but antient manner of obliging your poor unworthy servant, whereby I find you still one and the same dear and indulgent master you were ever to me, never being contented to overvalue and love me your-

self, but to labour all manner of way to make the whole world do so too. Besides, this assures me, you trust me as absolutely, as ever, largely exprest in this, that you have no conceit of my popularity, otherwise why should you thus study to endear me with the upper and lower house of parliament, and so consequently with your whole kingdom; all, and the least I can say, is this, that I naturally so love your person, and upon so good experience and knowledge, adore all your other parts, which are more than ever one man had, that were not only all your people, but all the world besides set together on one side, and you alone on the other, I should, to obey and please you, displease, nay despise all them, and this shall be ever my popularity. Give me leave here to use your own proverb, For this the devil con me thanks. The reasons of my going to Newhall, are these, first, I find business, and the sight of busy folks, does me much harm, and though your extraordinary care, and watchful eye over me, would keep them from speaking with me, yet in a court I must needs look many of them in the face; then Theobalds house is now very hot, and hath but few change of rooms, both inconvenient to a sick body; then my Lord of Warwick tells me, that, by experience, he hath found Newhall air as good a one to ride away an ague as any in England, and that lately he lost one by the benefit of that air, I mean near hand, which I think will be all one. By this time, I fear, I have troubled you; and were it not that I write to you, I am sure I

should have wearied myself. I have now only one request to you, as you first placed me in your BABIE CHARLES's good opinion, if you think fit, for your service, in my absence, continue me in it, and so give me your blessing.

Your Majesty's

most humble slave and dog,

STINIE.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I do not know what fault I have made of late, that you should take so cruel a revenge of me, as to put me in the fear your last but one letter did. I am too far behind-hand to let the quarrel rest so; though in your last you made a proposition full of affection, if I may call it by so sawcy a name; you are now in the place of love; therefore, for that respect, I will now forbear you; but when you are off of that ground, look to yourself. I hope to have the happiness to-morrow to kiss your hands; therefore I will not send you that letter you writ to the Pope, which I have got from Secretary Calvert; when he delivered it to me, he made this request, that he hoped your Majesty would as well trust him in the letter you were now to write, as you had heretofore in the former. I did what I could to dissemble it; but, when there was no means to do it, I thought best to seem to trust him absolutely, thereby the better to tie him to secrecy. If this be a lie, as I am sure it is, then you may begin to think, that, with a little more study, I may cry Quittance; so I crave your blessing.

Your Majesty's

humble slave and dog,

STINIE,

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

THOUGH I writ last night, yet I think it not amiss to add one word more, to express myself more particularly: my Lord Maxwell is arrived, and hath assured me, having had it out of the Pope's own mouth, that the dispensation is granted free and unclogged. He further adds, that after he had, in a rough manner, spoke with the Nuntio at Paris, in so much that he told he would complain of him presently to his Holiness, he answered him calmly thus, and with some expressions of fear, that he should do it; that if he would but have a little patience, he should quickly see through the business, and have no cause to complain; all this I have told, *d'effiat*, but under the rose. I likewise told him, you reproached to me, where is your glorious match with France, and your royal frank monseurs. I told him also, I had orders to set a short day for the assembling of the parliament, and that you had commanded me, if the Spanish agent came to visit me, that I should, upon pain of your displeasure, not only use him civilly, but kindly. He answered me impatiently and confusedly, what, cannot one make a trial of gaining better and more advantageous conditions, without an intention to break? Whereupon I told him, I did not think they

did intend to break; nay, that I did not think there [was] an occasion; besides, the ties of honour and honesty would not give them leave, but I was sorry and ashamed, that so unseasonably, after all things were performed to their desire, nay, more than they could have imagined; witness the assistance of shipping, the hearty professions of my master, as well by letter as those verbal compliments he sent by Monsieur La Riviere, and now at the time when acknowledgements at the least, if not requitals, should have come, with greedy gluttonous appetites, to seek to surfeit on the forbidden tree, can receive no cleaner an interpretation than to have come from an unreasonable, unjust, false, and unmanly appetite; and thus you have ended *avec la bonne bouche*; but I thought in my mind sh----- mouths. I pray you, Sir, do not kiss that word, nor bewray, for want of bold and absolute language, a good business. I ended with Monsieur thus, your master acknowledges he hath already the substance of what he desires, though I know the contrary; the Pope is to receive satisfaction not from my master, but yours. Now, then, let every man act his own natural proper part. Spain must really be cozened; let the Pope do that, since he can as well pardon himself as all the world. The Pope seemingly must be cozened; let France do that, who hath the title of the most Christian King, and so may the easilier obtain a pardon; my master will neither be cozened, nor cozen; wherefore the most Christian King must conscionably undertake to his Holiness, for as much as may cozen Spain, France, and Rome, who

may not for their union be called the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*. Sir, I will weary your patience with one word more; if you please, treat as little as may be, and roundly let the ambassador know, you so much prize your honour, that neither in a circumstance nor form will you make any alteration, and set your ambassadors a short peremptory day for an answer; if it prove good, I shall be as soon ready to go from hence as it can be to come hither; if ill, then let your ambassadors as speedily come away; for never admit of new journies to Rome, neither doth it need. I will end with Mall's complement to me: Lord Father, I love you well! Lord Father, I will die for you! So I crave your blessing, as

Your Majesty's

most humble slave and dog,

STINIE.

* This expression, which is as dull as it is profane, would certainly have been omitted, had the fidelity due by a transcriber to the public allowed it.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I DID hope to have got out of town to-morrow, but by reason of new discoveries my brother hath made of a witchcraft, I am forced to crave leave to stay till Monday or Tuesday, otherwise, by leaving him in the midst of his troubles, I should give him too just cause to think I cared no more for him than to serve my turns of him.

I confefs, there is yet too much to do concerning my preparations for France; and God forbid I should, by my neglect, make that longer in doing which hath been already too long undone, the marriage of the Prince. The want of monies in your exchequer makes me now want the happiness to wait of you; for, as yet, I have not received one penny; but of this I'll trouble you no more, it being now ready, as I am ever to receive your blessing, which now I crave, as

Your Majesty's

most humble slave and dog,

STINIE.

Both KATE, MALL, and I, humbly thank the good man Purveyor, for his presents of all kinds.

DUTCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES.

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR MAJESTIE,

I HAVE received the two boxes of drid ploms and graps, and the box of violatt caks, and chickens; for all which I most humbly thank your Majestie.

I hope my Lord Anan * has tould your Majestie, that I did mean to wene Mall very shortly. I wood not by any mens a-don it, till I had furst made your Majestie acquainted with it; and by reason my cusen Bret's boy has binne ill of latt, for fere shee should greeve and spyle her milk†, maks me very desiorous to wene her; and I thinke shee is ould enuse, and I hope will endure her wening very well; for I thinke there was never child card les for the brest than shee dos; so I do entend to make triall this night how shee will endure it. This day, praying for your Majestie's health and longe life, I humbly take my leve.

Your Majestie's

most humbell sarvant,

K. BUCKINGHAM.

* The person intrusted with this important commission, concerning the weaning of MALL, was Sir JOHN MURRAY of the Bed-Chamber, created Viscount ANNAN by K. JAMES.

† An ingenious use to which the Dutches put a humble cousin.

THE DUTCHESS DOWAGER OF LENOX

TO

KING JAMES.

MY SOVEREIGN LORD,

ACCORDING to your Majesty's gracious pleasure, signified unto me, I have sent a young man to attend you, accompanied with a widow's prayers and tears, that he may wax old in your Majesty's service; and in his fidelity and affection may equal his ancestors departed: so shall he find grace and favour in the eyes of my lord the King; which will revive the dying hopes, and raise the dejected spirits, of a comfortless mother.

Your Majesty's

most humble servant,

KA. LENOX. *

* The daughter and heir of Gervase Lord Leighton, the widow of Esme third Duke of Lenox, and the mother of many heroes. The reader, after having perused so many letters of flatterers and politicians, will be relieved with the elegant simplicity of this billet.

COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF
SCOTLAND

TO

K I N G J A M E S.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

YOur Majesty's letter, concerning the declaration of your royal will and pleasure against William Rig and his complices, came no sooner to our hands, whom your Majesty first intrusted therewith, but there went a current bruit through this town of an extraordinary great fine to be imposed upon the said persons; however, from whom that bruit proceeded, we know not; and we will clear ourselves, that, to this hour, we have ever concealed that point anent [concerning] the fine, and neither acquainted the rest of the council, nor no others therewith: and for this we will humbly crave your Majesty's pardon, and beg the favour of your Majesty, that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to take in good part our humble opinion concerning the fine, wherein, as the Lord knows, we have no other thing before our eyes, but your Majesty's honour and the general content of your subjects, who, at the first raising of the uncertain bruit of the fine, whereof the particular is yet unknown unto them, were so moved with the rareness of the matter, and with the apprehension of fear upon the preparative and consequence thereof, as

We have not heard of a matter so hardly taken with, and so dangerously apprehended by all ranks of persons; for the like of the fine was never heard of in this kingdom; and there was never a crime (how grievous soever) which was punishable by fining, that received such a censure; nor can the means of the private persons afford such sums; and the man himself, although in the general opinion of the people he be wealthy, is not known to have such stock as the sum imposed; and if it be left in record, it will import the effect of a forfeiture, and a depriving him of his whole estate, which, in a matter of this kind, respect being had to the quality of the offence, and quantity of the fine, will not be warranted by example, and, in the opinion of many, will not subsist in course of justice: the consideration whereof has moved us hitherto to conceal the fine, being persuaded that the council would never allow thereof; and we were loath that any of your Majesty's directions should receive an interruption or hard interpretation. The rest of your Majesty's pleasure concerning him and his associates, by declaration made of their being ever incapable of any public function, is satisfied, and he shall keep ward in the Blackness*, and the rest in their wards till your Majesty, in the excellence of your wisdom, comparing the punishment with the quality of the offence, shall receive contentment; whereof we will

* A castle twelve miles west of Edinburgh, near Borrowstonness; it is now an useless heap of ruins, maintained by the public at a great annual expence.

most humbly beseech your Majesty to rest satisfied, and to pardon our presumption and boldness, wherein, as we have formerly said, we have no other respect but your Majesty's honour, and content of your subjects. And so praying the Almighty God to preserve your Majesty in health and happiness, with a long and blessed reign, we rest for ever,

Your Majesty's

most humble and obedient

Subjects and servants,

MAR.

MELROS.

GEORGE HAY.

— OLIPHANT.

Holyroodhouse, 1st July,

1624.

PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

WE received your Majesty's letter of the 22d of June last, and, to our exceeding great grief, we perceive that your Majesty has taken offence at our proceedings in that matter concerning William Rig*, and that sentence was not pronounced against him conform to your Majesty's direction, wherein we will humbly crave pardon to clear ourselves, that no private respect nor consideration towards the man could have induced us to oversee the least point of duty in the execution of your royal commandments; but knowing that your Majesty's principal aim in this, and other matters of the like kind, is grounded upon a most religious and princely resolution, to have your Majesty's laws concerning the order of the church to be reverently obeyed, and a peaceable and fruitful ministry to be established in this burgh; so we at the diet appointed for the pronouncing of your royal will against the said William, he appeared, ac-

* This RIG appears to have been a leading person among the Presbyterians: what his offence was, is not certainly known to the Publisher of this Collection. But it appears, that his zeal had formerly brought upon him the displeasure of King JAMES, whose letter to the Privy Council of Scotland is here subjoin-

accompanied with the whole ministry of this burgh, and not only most submissively acknowledged his oversight in that Tuesday's morning before Easter, and cleared himself of some mistakings in his depositions, and wherein he had forgot himself, by granting a point never spoken of by him in the meeting foresaid; but with * that the ministry, after a heavy regret made by them of their hard state and condition within the burgh, and how they had a purpose to have begged leave to have left their ministry. In end they declared, that, upon conference with the said William, they had received great contentment and satisfaction, in the main points wherein he pretended he doubted, and were in good hope of his future conformity and obedience; and that the rest of the neighbours of the town, who have the greatest hand in this business, would, by his example, do the like; whereupon would follow the peace of their church, respect to their persons, and a hearty and mutual harmony betwixt them and their flock, which was the only thing they sought; and therefore they humbly interceded for favour unto the said William, and that the declaration of your royal will against him might be deferred for some certain space; then, being at length heard, and the expediency of their pro-

ed, that the calm and candid reader may compare his own times with those of his fathers.

* Whereas divers of our burgh of Edinburgh, out of a peevish humour, and in contempt of good order, leave their

So the MS.

position debated at the council-table, and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who as your Majesty knows, has the greatest care in these church matters, and whose opinion is much revered, and followed therein, not only joined with the ministry in their proposition and desire, as the fittest course to procure obedience and peace in the church, but voted with us to the superseding of the declaration of your will and pleasure. This being the simple truth of the carriage, and progress of this business, we will humbly beseech your Majesty to accept the same in good part, as proceeding from them, whose chief care and endeavours in the charge and place wherewith your Majesty has honoured us, is to approve ourselves worthy of our charge, and answerable to the trust your Majesty reposeth in us. We have deprived the said William from his office of Bailie, and have declared him and the rest incapable of any public charge in church or town hereafter, and have directed them to their ward; and, in all other things, which may procure your Majesty obedience and contentment, the peace of the kirk, and respect to the ministers, there shall be nothing wanting in us, which to the duty of our place as counsellors, and in alledgiance as humble subjects and servitors appertains. And so,

" ordinary pastors, and following deprived or silenced ministers, receive of them the sacrament, we have conceived a
" most just indignation against them, which we defer to express by any exemplary punishment, hoping, that, at this
" approaching Easter, their conformity to good order, shall

with the continuance of our humble and earnest prayers
unto God for your Majesty's long and happy reign, we
rest for ever,

Your Majesty's

most humble and obedient

subjects and servitors,

GEORGE HAY.	OLIPHANT.
MAR.	R. COCKBURN.
MORTON.	AR. NAPER.
LINLITHGOW.	J. SKENE.
MELROS.	A. GIBSON.
LAUDERDAIL.	A. ELPHINSTONE.
CARNEGIE.	J. HAMILTON.
J. ERSKINE.	KILSAYTH.

Holyroodhouse, 1st July,

1624.

" testify their amendment. But, in respect that there be some
" who continually assist the refractory ministry in all their
" disobedience, and spare not to countenance them in all their
" public doings, yea, even to accompany them when they are
" cited before our High Commission, thereby encouraging

TO KING JAMES.

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" them to stand out against the orders of the church, in con-
 " tempt of our authority: and although we have so long had
 " patience with them, as to expect, that, by lenity and admo-
 " nition, they might have been reclaimed from their rebell-
 " ous humour, and reduced to an obedient and dutiful kind
 " of behaviour; yet, seeing lenity prevaleth not with them,
 " we have thought good, by these presents, and will you to re-
 " move the special of these evil weeds out of that field, and
 " send William Rig, merchant, into Caithness, and—[other
 " burgeses of Edinburgh banished to different corners of
 " Scotland] willing and commanding every one of them not to
 " exceed the bounds to him limited, without our special war-
 " rant, under all the highest pains and punishment. The like
 " course we intend to take with others who shall be found
 " culpable of the like offences; and not doubting of your care
 " in the premises, we bid you farewell.

Given at our mannor of Thetobalds the 30th
 April, 1623.

F I N I S.



ERRORS OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

Page 19. l. 5. for *an*, read *any*.

P. 28. l. 4. for *do*, r. *do you*.

P. 29. 32, 46, 52. for *MALLOCH*, r. *MALLEY*.

P. 108. Note, l. 1. for *the*, r. *of the*.

P. 110. Note, l. 9. for *Santa*, r. *Santita*.

P. 138. l. 13. for *D'effiat*, r. *Deffiat*.

p. 24. Edmund Peacham was instituted to the
Vicarage of Ridge in Hertfordshire
22 July 1581 at the presentation of the Bishop
of London; & resigned it in the latter
end of 1587. *Newcourt Reporter*. Vol. 1.
1874.

to the
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Op
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